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ABSTRACT

This volume contains the proceedings of a conference for newspaper journalists on problems in education. Contents include "A Summary of the Conference Sessions," "Session Summaries," "About the Working Paper Authors," "The Conference Working Papers," "Research Papers Prepared for the Conference," "The Conference Program," and "List of Participants." The sixteen working papers, which constitute the bulk of this document, take a stand on behalf of a particular position in order to provoke discussion among journalism educators, newspaper editors and publishers, and university administrators. Each paper has been grouped with other related papers on topics such as reporting, curriculum design, and professional standards. Working papers include "Journalism and a Liberal Education," "Non-verbal Communication," "Professionalism of the Press," "The Journalist's Body of Knowledge," "Attitude Formation," "Economics of the Press," "New Technology," "Social Science Reporting," "Professional Media Experience," "Professional Activity Beyond the Classroom," "Mastery of a Non-journalism Discipline," "Study of Urban Life," "Broad Understanding of the Major Issues," "Objectives of Journalism Schools," "Criticism of the Press," and "Evaluation of Journalism Schools." (RB)

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Proceedings

Education for Newspaper Journalists in the Seventies and Beyond

Sponsored by the ANPA Foundation
in cooperation with the Association for
Education in Journalism

The Sheraton Inn and International Conference Center
Reston, Virginia
October 31, November 1 and 2, 1973

American Newspaper Publishers Association Foundation
P.O. Box 17407, Dulles International Airport, Washington, D.C. 20041

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Preface

In 1971 Dr. John Hulteng of the University of Oregon surveyed newspaper editors and journalism educators to determine what kind of professional performance they expected from recent journalism school graduates. Dr. Hulteng found wide differences in perceptions and expectations that dramatized a long existing gulf between many professional newspapermen and journalism educators. Bridging this gulf was one of the principal objectives of the ANPA Foundation Conference on "Education for Newspaper Journalists in the Seventies and Beyond," held in Reston, Virginia in the fall of 1973.

Planning for the conference had begun two years earlier under the guidance of the late Dr. Chilton R. Bush, then Director of the ANPA News Research Center, and Dr. Hillier Krieghbaum, then President of the Association for Education in Journalism and Professor of Journalism at New York University. A planning committee under the general direction of the chairman of the joint Journalism Education Committee of the American Newspaper Publishers Association and the Association for Education in Journalism was formed and went to work.

The planning committee recognized that an effective conference must deal with the challenges which face journalism education: rising enrollments, a rapidly changing society which continuously demands more and better information and a need for better definition and understanding of the journalism discipline. An effective conference needed the participation not only of journalism educators, publishers and editors, but also university administrators.

The planning committee also knew that merely bringing people together for a discussion was not enough. Much advanced preparation by the planners and by the participants would be necessary. The committee proceeded to draw up a series of propositions which set forth seventeen challenge areas in journalism education. Experts were commissioned to write papers based on these propositions. Sixteen manuscripts were ultimately completed. These papers comprise the bulk of this volume.

The papers treat a variety of topics: the nature of the journalism curriculum, the non-journalism curriculum, the preparation of journalism school faculty, the role of research in journalism among others.

An outstanding group of educators and newspaper executives were drawn to Reston and participated in the three-day meeting. Each participant had been asked to read the papers prior to his coming to the meeting. At the conference the paper authors summarized their papers; spirited discussion followed each presentation. A summary of these discussions together with an overall summary of the proceedings are included in this compilation.

Much credit for the success of the conference belongs to the Association for Education in Journalism whose presidents, first Hillier Krieghbaum, then Neale Copple of the University of Nebraska and now Bruce Westley of the University of Kentucky have lent enthusiastic support. Credit also belongs to the hard work of Eugene C, Dorsey, Publisher of the Gannett Rochester Newspapers and chairman of the ANPA side of the ANPA-AEJ Journalism Education Committee, and to James W. Schwartz, Head of the Department of Journalism and Mass Communication at Iowa State University and co-chairman of the joint committee for AEJ. The planning committee and the entire ANPA-AEJ Committee also deserve the thanks of all. The names of these outstanding committee members are listed below.

No single conference can hope to accomplish more than to set forth the boundaries of a problem and to bring about better understanding between the organizations and individuals involved. Both of these goals the Reston conference achieved. One editor said it well: "This conference was a most successful launching of a program that can have long continuing effects in helping bridge a gap which shouldn't exist at all."

Stewart R. Macdonald
Executive Director
ANPA Foundation

February 1974

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1

A Summary of the Conference Discussions

What does a journalist need to know to be a competent professional in a rapidly changing world?

And what is the role of journalism education in developing this competence?

These proved to be the key questions faced by the 100 college educators and newspapermen who attended the ANPA Foundation Conference on Education for Newspaper Journalists in the Seventies and Beyond.

The sixteen papers presented at the Conference treated a variety of questions facing journalism and journalism education, but most of the papers centered around the key question of what a journalist needs to know.

After three days of discussion, participants agreed that the journalist needs a liberal education, but the content of that education remained an open question. A strong argument was made that the journalism school itself is best prepared to offer a liberal education for the journalist.

The old distinction between a "liberal arts" education and a journalism school education should be discarded, the working papers authors and participants argued. Human knowledge has increased to such a degree that it is now impossible for a student to take an unplanned sprinkling of courses from a variety of disciplines and call the collective result a "liberal education." A liberal education for the journalist must be approached from the point of view of communication and a development of the values and attitudes of the journalist. A liberal education is not just a curriculum, but a method and attitude toward learning. Seen in this sense, a journalism education can be more liberating than the traditional "liberal arts," several educators observed.

Much of this discussion evolved from Howard Ziff's presentation of his paper on the journalist's body of knowledge. This body of knowledge, as defined by Ziff, should enable the journalist to take a broad, integrative approach to newsgathering and inquiry. Many courses labeled "non-journalism" contribute directly to the work of the journalist since all human knowledge is in the journalist's area, he stated.

Philip Meyer of the Knight Newspapers contended in his paper that journalists need to understand the methods and techniques of the social sciences to better analyze social trends and test the outcome of public policy.

John Colburn of Landmark Communications won wide agreement for his proposition that an understanding of newspaper economics is essential to the journalist who wants to realistically appraise his function. Such understanding can also help a journalist better understand general economics and report on general economic and business problems.

John Robinson of the Survey Research Center, University of Michigan, argued in his paper that students should understand the role of mass communication in attitude formation, reinforcement and change. Journalists, Robinson said, need to understand the effects of their words on the audience -- a reasonable enough proposition. Yet, this struck a number of participants as urging the journalist to manipulate his audience. Journalists, these participants argued, are not persuaders; their obligation is to inform. Others, however, contended that persuasion and informing are both important elements in journalism which can not be separated. Both must be used and understood by the journalist.

The paper by John Leard of the Richmond Newspapers proposed that students need to be exposed to the changing technology in newspapers and how this technology would affect their work as journalists.

Jack Lyle of the Corporation for Public Broadcasting argued that journalists must study urban life since that's where many of the basic problems in our society are.

Edward Barrett of the Academy of Educational Development contended that journalists must understand contemporary issues and know how to write about them. There was little quarrel with Leard's, Lyle's or Barrett's positions.

While much emphasis in the conference was placed on what a journalist needs to know, the skills of writing and reporting, the participants agreed, are still central to the journalism curriculum. Writing and reporting courses are not "trade school" courses. They are central to the development of professional journalists. Journalism educators should stop apologizing for teaching these courses, one dean of a liberal arts college said. Acquiring writing skills has always been a key element in a liberal education.

In teaching these skills, the role of the visual must not be overlooked, Gene S. Graham of the University of Illinois argued in his paper on visual communication. The pictorial aspect of journalism is not just an adjunct of the news report, he said. It must infuse and be a part of all new coverage and therefore must be an integral part of the journalism curriculum. Put the photo and art departments on the same level as other parts of the editorial department, said Graham.

But what kind of faculty will teach this liberally educated, highly-skilled journalist?

Richard Gray of Indiana University proposed in his paper that journalism departments seek faculty with varying capabilities and backgrounds. To teach the skills of journalism requires teachers with professional media experience. But it also requires men and women who value scholarship and who can add to the knowledge of communication. While the PhD is desirable, said Gray, it should never be required for all members of the journalism faculty.

The problem with some professionals who return to the campus is that they look on teaching as a sinecure and do not grow with the job, said Gray. Good teaching requires first-rate minds, men and women with intellect who have the ability to convey that intellect, several deans asserted.

Every journalism dean agrees with Gray, said George Reedy of Marquette University. The problem, he said, in bringing first-rate professionals onto the faculty is complicated by tenure and by requiring a PhD for all faculty positions.

The role of research in the journalism school must not be downgraded, Maxwell McCombs argued in his paper. Research and other scholarly activities are important to the academy and important to teaching. To contend that research and teaching are incompatible is an oversimplification. The good teacher is also a good researcher, said McCombs, because scholarly research indicates that the teacher is renewing his own understanding of his discipline and "not using 10-year old notes."

In the session on the purpose and role of journalism schools, Charles Duncan of the University of Oregon reported that while journalism enrollments had gown rapidly, the accomodation of non-majors was not a serious problem. Not so, said a number of educators. We are being overwhelmed by numbers, said James Schwartz of Iowa State and Harold W. Nelson of the University of Wisconsin. Schools are looking for ways to slow the flow of men and women who are not committed to professional careers in journalism without shirking their responsibility to teach the skills of journalism and the importance of communication to non-journalism students.

One mission of the journalism schools, several participants asserted, was the preserving of the skills of writing and fostering a broader understanding of the role of communications in the modern world. But the journalism schools have still another mission, said James Carey of the University of Illinois in his paper on press criticism. "One of the values of journalism education is a body of criticism." Most current criticism today reaches only the professionals within the media, said Carey. Criticism should be open - out in the light where the public lives. Ombudsmen, press councils, journalism reviews, while steps in the right direction, will not do the job. The kind of criticism needed is the criticism of language. Criticism is not a mark of failure, Carey asserted, but an indication of vigor and relevance.

In the final paper of the conference, presented by Sylvan Meyer, all aspects of accreditation of journalism sequences were covered. Meyer sees accreditation as only one part of the constant evaluation of the curriculum, teaching, student counseling and research that are part of every journalism school.

Meyer contended that the number of journalism courses needs to be increased over the current 75% to 25% ratio, now an accreditation standard. In one sense this point summarized much of the discussion of the three days, because it suggested that taking more journalism courses did not mean that the student was taking fewer liberal arts courses. It could well mean that he was taking more, if, as many of the participants suggested, the journalism courses are "more liberal" than the liberal arts. Meyer's point also reflected the challenge of many of the conference papers. The non-journalism courses which the journalist takes must be tailored to the needs of the journalist.

Nor can journalism instruction be confined merely to the undergraduate or graduate levels. There was considerable agreement on the need for more continuing education for newsmen. First, newspapers want help in preparing young journalists for management positions; newspaper reporters and editors need better understanding of today's issues to prepare accurate and intelligent news reports.

Clearly, the newspaper professionals and educators must work more closely together to meet the numerous challenges described by both paper authors and participants. An important beginning toward improved dialogue has been made at the conference, participants felt. To bring improved dialogue and substantive improvements in professional journalism education, the participants volunteered a wide variety of follow-up proposals to the conference. A sample:

(1) Schedule more "rap" sessions among editors, educators and students.

(2) Form task forces of editors and educators to tackle the big questions raised.

(3) Study the role of the junior colleges in producing journalists.

(4) Study the role of management and newspaper economics as an integral part of journalism education.

(5) Disseminate more widely the good research currently being done on the campuses.

Journalism schools are important to the profession; this the conference made clear. In a quick survey toward the close of the conference 13 of the 14 editors in the conference room reported that they hired more than 50% of their reporters from journalism schools. The increasing closeness of professionals and educators assures that the challenging task of strengthening the education of newspaper journalists will have the full cooperation of both groups.

2

A Report on the Morning Session, Wednesday, October 31, 1973

by Charles T. Alexander, Publisher, Dayton (Ohio) Journal World

Topic: The Skills and Practice of Newspaper Journalism in the Liberal Arts Curriculum

The session was moderated by Stewart R. Macdonald, executive director, ANPA Foundation, and by Hillier Krieghbaum, professor of journalism, New York University.

Papers were presented by Paul L. Dressel, Director of Institutional Research, Michigan State University; Gene S. Graham, professor, College of Communication, University of Illinois; and William E. Porter, professor, Department of Journalism, University of Michigan.

Topics: Dressel — Journalism and a Liberal Education

Graham -- Non-verbal Communication

Porter — Professionalism of the Press

This opening session of "Education for Newspaper Journalists in the Seventies and Beyond" moved out hesitantly, but incisively, from Dr. Paul L. Dressel's paper.

Dressel explained that his perspective was much broader than a mere liberal arts orientation. Liberal education, he observed, was originally related to contact with liberal arts, but that is no longer feasible as the liberal arts are too extensive.

Dressel said he would prefer to approach the concept from the point of view of skills of communication and awareness of values and attitudes. Using the definition that "liberal education is a feeling of responsibility for what's going on," Dressel noted that "journalism represents a better approach than the concept of many liberal arts colleges, which define liberal arts as a curriculum."

The question was raised as to the relationship of the teaching of journalism skills in a context of liberal education. One comment from the floor pointed out that journalism is often suspect in the university precisely because of its skills content. A suggestion was made in reply that if you merge the skills curriculum with the broader liberal academic content the criticism is muted.

In fact, journalistic skills may be sought by traditional scholars in other fields because such skills enable them to communicate their scholarship more effectively. But even granting a certain skills orientation, it was said, journalism is basically a method. It is an attitude toward reality, an attitude of skepticism, an attitude of seeking truth. And these are the attitudes of liberal scholarship just as they are of journalism.

There were several references to the status of journalism education as it is perceived on many campuses. Several educators referred to feelings of inferiority suffered by schools and departments of journalism. As it progressed, the discussion seemed to lead toward an underdog status rather than one of inferiority because of the suspicion many academicians seem to hold toward the skills content.

Dressel summarized his position by asserting that it is increasingly difficult for a student to get a liberal education because colleges have become too departmentalized. The concentration on specialization and depth in a particular field limits vision. Moreover, advisers are assigned from the student's major department and have little interest in guiding the scholar in pursuits outside the major.

The solution may be, Dressel said, to move toward interrelated disciplines rather than specialized ones, encouraging more independent study within a more relaxed structure.

The second paper of the morning dealt with "visual communication," an expression its author, Professor Gene Graham, preferred to "non-verbal" communication.

The thrust of Graham's elaboration on his paper was that visual communication is not an adjunct function, but is of the essence of complete coverage of a topic. Nor is its use confined to breaking news; it is just as necessary an element in feature and in-depth stories.

Much of the discussion examined the points at which various infusions of awareness of visual communication need to exist. The consensus was that there is no magic moment of awareness; it must be a continuing element in the general atmosphere of the news-gathering process, just as getting the basic facts is a taken-for-granted part of the process.

The problem arises because we have not reached that point. Graham's proposal was, first, that visual communication must be an integral part of the journalism curriculum orientation. Even the newest reporter, then, comes to think of the varied ways in which a story can be told graphically as well as verbally at the instant he picks up an assignment.

Graham recounted how the University of Illinois had worked out a combination track system in which the tracks varied in emphasis, according to the student's principal interest in verbal or visual communication, but with constant exposure to both types leading up to a merging of the two in instruction in the editing process.

Several spokesmen from the industry said that the widest gulf in the newsroom is between the city desk and the photo department, with the photo department regarded merely as a service function for the other departments. The first task, it was suggested, is to elevate the photo and art departments to equality, with their heads having input on an equal basis with other department managers and supervisors.

Other industry representatives stressed that the enlightenment, and the pressure to implement it, must come from the top, with editors taking a positive stance on the role of visuals in a newspaper. A particular pressure point is with the "space allocators" who finally determine both the use of visuals and their relative effectiveness.

In response to a question about applying the awareness to smaller newspapers, Graham said that the growing use of offset and lack of union restrictions make use of visual communication much more technically feasible on smaller newspapers, and if staff members are properly indoctrinated on their joint role as verbal AND visual communicators, the process can take place within the present staff framework.

The final morning session was devoted to Prof. William E. Porter's paper on "Professionalism in the Press."

There was a general sentiment expressed by the group that some form of staff participation in the decision-making in news departments is both demanded and warranted. By the same token, there was the belief that the role should be participatory -- some leaned more to "advisory" -- and not a delegation of the decision-making process. There was also some feeling that the appropriateness of such a process depended on the area of the operation being considered.

A code on professional ethics, for instance, was cited as the proper province for considerable staff input because the staff members are those closest to the problem. Editorial endorsements, on the other hand, are an area in which the role is properly reduced to one of simple input of opinion without management's being bound by the suggestions.

Porter led the discussion into a broader perspective, drawing it to consideration of the type of young person going into journalism. Porter characterized him or her as "a special type of student who has the element of the reformer, but wants to work in an ordered system."

"How do you keep them happy?" he asked. "We now have increasing restiveness. How do you keep them from departing in mid-career? There has to be a way to permit more involvement. How do we (journalism educators) help prepare them for it?"

The answers took the form of specific methods being used by various newspapers. Some newspapers have scheduled rap sessions in which staff members and management exchange views. A few newspapers make space available on the op ed page for staff personnel to express dissenting opinions, while others have channels by which staff people can submit position papers to be considered in formulating editorial policy. One paper also has a 90-day rotation plan by which editors from other departments and reporters sit on the editorial board.

One problem that all these methods sooner or later turn up is the very limited knowledge staff members have of the general operation of a newspaper. They entertain numerous misconceptions, a number of participants noted, about the formulation of policies as well as about the general economic structure of a newspaper enterprise. These voids lead to a disenchantment, rooted in naivete, which can become a very real problem in retaining promising talent and getting maximum effectiveness from it.

One educator pointed to intern programs as an opportunity for newspapers to give prospective newsmen on-site orientation into the broader operation of news-gathering enterprise. Paul Hirt of the Chicago (Ill.) Sun-Times and Daily News told of that group's efforts to develop materials teaching the interrelation of newspaper departments and functions.

One educator-participant told of getting the American Newspaper Guild organizer to teach newspaper economics on the premise that union leaders are sometimes more knowledgeable and articulate about newspaper business operations than some newsmen.

Porter was asked if mid-career programs of study in universities, like those now being conducted under the auspices of the National Endowment for the Humanities at the University of Michigan and Stanford University, might ameliorate the mid-career blues which take many promising journalists from the field.

Porter replied that that was one purpose of the program. He observed, however, that such an approach carries the inherent hazard of luring the journalists from their own field into academic careers. To combat this problem, Porter said the University of Michigan included a seminar that "keeps them talking about the news business." Other methods are also being tried to preserve the scholars' relationship to the news business. He said in summary, however, that it was too early to assess the program in detail as to its effects on the professional outlook of the mid-career journalist.

The morning session concluded shortly thereafter.

A Report on the Afternoon Session, Wednesday, October 31, 1973

by R.E. Hartley, Editor, Lindsay-Schaub Newspapers, Decatur, Illinois

Topic: What is the Body of Knowledge of Journalism?

The session was moderated by Neale Copple, Director, School of Journalism, University of Nebraska.

Papers were presented by Howard M. Ziff, Director of Journalistic Studies, University of Massachusetts; John P. Robinson, Study Director, Survey Research Center, Institute for Social Research, the University of Michigan; John H. Colburn, Vice President, Landmark Communications, Norfolk, Virginia; and John E. Leard, Executive Editor, Richmond (Va.) Newspapers.

Topics: Ziff -- The Journalist's Body of Knowledge

Robinson -- Attitude Formation

Colburn -- Economics of the Press

Leard -- New Technology

Howard Ziff argued in his paper that there is a body of knowledge about journalism that is open-ended and that every journalist needs to encounter. Two specific topics in his paper recurred throughout the conference: (1) What is the substance of a liberal education for journalism students, and (2) How is the discipline of journalism defined? This session saw a groping toward answering these questions.

During the discussion Ziff urged teaching a more critical and honest look at the history of journalism, and pointed out that other institutions are subjected to a critical history. The liberally educated journalist, he said, is of recent vintage. In the past, journalists came from the lower class. Various factors have worked to upgrade the journalist and give rise to the cry for liberally educated journalists.

John Leard said that, while his paper had hired liberal arts students, the greatest need is for persons who can come to the paper ready to work. But Leard wasn't sure that journalism schools were preparing the students for the realities of the newspaper business, or for the daily routine which the newsroom requires.

William E. Hall, Ohio State University, countered that newspapers recruiting on his campus do not want the liberally educated student, and in the bigger universities can't really get him because of departmental specialization. Liberal arts graduates can be found more easily on smaller campuses where specialization isn't possible. Frankly, Hall said, the so-called liberal student could not match the liberal education received by a B.A. in journalism.

But on his campus things are different, said I.W. Cole, Northwestern University. He agreed there are newspapers who want the kind of student Hall mentioned, but they are few. He suggested Hall ought to find some new recruiters.

J. Edward Gerald, University of Minnesota, said that Ziff's proposition didn't seem practical to him. He took issue with the journalism discipline approach, and asked: "Are we teaching newspaper-making, or are we educating men? To what extent should we debate the nuts and bolts of journalism?"

Richard G. Gray, Indiana University, held that journalism needs to develop a discipline of journalism and definitely has a body of knowledge. He said, "If we are synthesizers for the university, then we don't have a discipline."

In this discourse, Frederick T.C. Yu, Columbia University, asked that journalism schools make students better consumers of communications. He seconded Gray's remark about synthesizers, calling them "processors," and pleaded for developing a journalism discipline.

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John Robinson, in his proposition, advocated that every journalism student should understand the role of mass communication in attitude formation, reinforcement and change. "What are you asking journalism educators to do?" Robinson was asked. "They should be looking at journalism education as a social science," he replied.

In the discussion, Robinson added that it was necessary to understand the impact of journalism on society. Some participants seemed to think he was asking for recognition that journalism can be used to achieve certain ends. This smacked of manipulation, Gene S. Graham, University of Illinois, felt.

Graham believes part of the pressure on journalism enrollments comes from certain special interest groups -- he mentioned blacks -- who see the potential in journalism for the exercise of power. Communications, he said, is molding the patterns of dress, styles, values, and has more to do with the mores of society than we realize.

The discussion eventually turned to whether journalism schools should be teaching the art of persuasion.

Bruce H. Westley, President, AEJ, and Chairman, Department of Journalism, University of Kentucky, contended that the role of the media is not to persuade, and to believe that is to misread the approach of the press. He believes journalism schools should teach individuals how to process information. Journalism schools ought to study that process so that they find a way of sorting out the persuasive element.

Roy M. Fisher, University of Missouri, also felt it wrong to imply that the role of communication is to change attitudes. He said the mainstream of journalism is gathering and transmitting information. The role of journalism schools should be to weed out those who want to sell their ideas. The real job is to convince students that they must get information to the people so they can make up their own minds.

Robinson agreed that those who want to persuade should find a place in other disciplines.

But others differed. Harold L. Nelson, University of Wisconsin, for one, said that whether anyone likes it or not the two functions -- informing and persuading -- exist in journalism in many forms.

Few disagreed, however, about a major part of Robinson's argument: that the effects of the media need to be understood and studied in the journalism curriculum.

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John Colburn won wide agreement for his proposition, that an understanding of newspaper economics is essential if a journalist wants to realistically appraise his function.

Several participants added that an understanding of newspaper economics could also help the journalist understand and write about economics in general. Edward P. Bassett, University of Kansas, pointed out that it is not easy to locate qualified persons who can teach the subject.

Casebooks or other kinds of backup literature are needed to teach newspaper economics, others suggested.

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John Leard's paper advocated that instruction in the new technology should be introduced into the curriculum, not necessarily as a course in itself, but as a part of other courses.

Few seemed to doubt Leard's contention that new technology is gaining in popularity, but journalism educators are hesitant to jump on the bandwagon. One reason cited was the cost to already financially pressed journalism programs.

Other schools reported being well into the new technology. Schools cited as having the most advanced programs were Texas, Missouri, and Wisconsin. At Missouri Roy Risher said that the new technology is being financed out of earnings from the student-run newspaper, the Columbian. Missouri, he said, is not going to invest in optical character readers (OCRs), but will have video display terminals (VDTs). The original investment is about $25,000, with more to be purchased in the future.

At the University of Texas, Wayne Danielson reported there is a $200,000 technology program in which several university institutions are involved. It involves the journalism program, the university and the student publications program.

At Wisconsin, Nelson reported there is a hands-on program for students utilizing computer and OCR equipment. The program goes well beyond acquainting students with the equipment.

The suggestion was made that journalism schools should also be teaching students to look at the effect of the new technology on earlier deadlines. Edward W. Barrett, Academy for Educational Development, felt that ANPA Foundation should have a film to circulate on the new technology.

Near the end of the discussion Ralph I. Squire of the Frank E. Gannett Foundation explained Gannett's new mobile technology lab which will be in operation by April, 1974. The lab will consist of a specially designed trailer with OCRs, VDTs, a photo typesetter, and special typewriters which will travel from campus to campus staying at a given college from two to three weeks.

A Report on the Morning Session, Thursday, November 1, 1973

by Richard Leonard, Editor, Milwaukee (Wis.) Journal

Topic: Research for the Newspaper Journalist

The session was moderated by Harold L. Nelson, director, School of Journalism and Mass Communication, University of Wisconsin.

Papers were presented by Philip E. Meyer, National Correspondent, Washington Bureau, Knight Newspapers; Richard G. Gray, Chairman, Department of Journalism, University of Indiana; Maxwell E. McCombs, School of Public Communication, Syracuse University.

Topics: Meyer -- Social Science Reporting

Gray -- Professional Media Experience

McCombs -- Professional Activity Beyond the Classroom

The morning session opened with Moderator Nelson commenting on an earlier remark by Bruce Westley of the University of Kentucky that there was increasing acceptance of journalism education on the nation's campuses. Nelson said there was good reason for increasing acceptance because journalism now had specialists who could speak to the matter of research and qualities akin to research. He then introduced Philip E. Meyer.

Meyer stated his premise that there was a need for "precision journalism" that could be applied to analysis of social trends to test conventional wisdom and to test the outcome of public policy -- whether things are working the way they should.

His second premise was that "precision journalism" can be taught to journalism students. This would include a familiarity with the computer and with elements of survey methods.

Meyer said he had been using these techniques for the Knight Newspapers for six years, but had not seen any big rush of reporters who wanted to follow him. He said he had been described as "the only newspaper reporter who can draw a probability sample."

The difficulties in creating courses to teach these methods were mentioned. Students are concerned with learning the methods and whether they can get a job once they have learned them. Professors want to know how they can establish such courses. Editors want to retain old methods, as well as try the new, which makes it difficult to get started.

Meyer said he hoped that sometime soon city editors would be telling reporters that they ought to learn to count as well as write.

John L. Dougherty, Rochester (N.Y.) Times Union, asked what courses Meyer would drop to make way for the social science reporting courses. Meyer replied that he didn't know, that somebody else would have to make that decision.

Maxwell McCombs, Syracuse University, said that he had taught this type of material in a public affairs reporting course. He said that one result was that it had, at least, enabled the student to tell a good poll from a bad poll.

Staley T. McBrayer, Pasadena (Tx.) News Citizen, said a student could monitor courses of this type even if he couldn't fit them into his schedule. He saw a problem in justifying a course along these lines if only one course was offered where several would be needed for adequate understanding.

Meyer said that an alternative to training journalists was hiring outside consultants who had been trained in this area.

McBrayer asked whether Meyer objected to newspapers using their own marketing research facilities.

Meyer said he did not object, but the quality of newspaper marketing research departments varied greatly. He said that sometimes people on the business side of a newspaper didn't take the same approach as news people.

John E. Leard of the Richmond (Va.) Newspapers asked about the costs and time involved in such research projects.

Meyer replied that when an editor said he couldn't spare three men for a project, the editor should be advised that all he was doing was promoting the next best three men to do the regular jobs of the people who would be working on the project -- and all he was sacrificing was the work covered by the three least important people on his staff.

Meyer said that reporters interested in this approach to journalism could only do what they could talk their editors into undertaking. He said editors should not leave this type of study to Ralph Nader and Common Cause.

William L. Hays, University of Georgia, asked if Meyer wasn't asking for smart social scientists to work for newspapers.

Meyer said he was not. He said that social scientists had different goals. He said that he was asking for reporters who could ask the right questions in pursuit of their assignments.

Warren Agee, University of Georgia, asked how much of the type of reporting that Meyer was discussing was going on in the country, and whether it was growing.

Meyer said there wasn't much, and most of it was related to election surveys. He said that this type of research activity would grow only if editors demanded it.

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Richard Gray opened his discussion on professional media experience by saying that he was really talking about who should teach journalism. He called this a crucial question. It doesn't matter what you call a course, he said. What matters is what the teacher does when he gets behind closed doors with the class.

In putting together a faculty you have to pay attention to the establishment which runs the university. On the other end of the spectrum you have tough-minded editors who feel that experience is best. In between, you have alumni who shift position from time to time, students who apply pressure, and faculty points of view.

A department head is under all sorts of pressure, Gray said. The solution to different demands lies in assembling an eclectic faculty of people with varied capabilities and backgrounds.

Successful teaching of the skills of journalism requires teachers with professional media experience. The PhD is desirable, but should never be required for all members of the journalism school faculty. Those practitioners of journalism who come to the campus without the usual academic trappings can continue their education after they have joined the faculty.

Gray said he would be willing to hire a man or woman if he or she had a first-rate mind, something to say, and the ability to say it.

Stephen C. Kleene, University of Wisconsin, commented that he was worried about the first-rate people who were brought to the campus but failed to grow with their jobs.

John L. Hulteng, University of Oregon, said that professionals who were brought in were sometimes regarded as second-class citizens.

Gray said that a department head had a challenge to see that this didn't happen. He said it would be the worst kind of exploitation to give a person of this type the basic skills courses.

Gray said there simply had to be recognition of the fact that reporting, editing and writing were essential parts of a journalism education. He cited the case of a professional journalist with a bachelor's degree who was made a full professor and has grown as a scholar.

George Reedy, Marquette University, said every dean of a journalism college was in agreement with Gray, but deans didn't have control. He said that bringing in first-rate men from the outside was complicated by tenure and other university problems.

Rolf H. Monge, Syracuse University, said that the creation of knowledge was the real goal. The same problems under discussion also prevailed in schools other than journalism -- nursing, social work, education. They all have the problem of whether to create knowledge or simply teach skills.

A.G. Unklesbay, University of Missouri, said that the acquisition of a PhD didn't change a person overnight. It really doesn't mean that the person is ready for either teaching or research. A PhD isn't the final answer, he said, and some PhD's were practically useless. He emphasized that a successful professional career is a good background for good teaching.

Earl L. Wallis, California State University, Northridge, said that people in the other disciplines at universities tended to look down their noses at journalism because much of what is included in a journalism education rests on knowledge from other disciplines.

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Maxwell McCombs, addressing himself to the necessity of research, said that the major theme of our times was change. Changes result in situations that need research. This must be done so that we can evaluate and adjust. Journalism faculties should be a source of scholarly research that will illuminate change.

McCombs' theme was that one cannot be a good journalism teacher unless he engages in significant professional activity beyond the classroom. Such activity should lead to better teaching and should add to the knowledge of journalism. He called for systematic, well planned research that will enhance the journalism department within the university and assist newspapers.

Charles T. Duncan, University of Oregon, said he feared that a professor might become so wrapped up in either teaching or research that he couldn't do both.

McCombs said that systematic research tied to teaching activity was best. The faculty member should be a combination teacher-scholar.

James W. Carey, University of Illinois, advised against bringing a person to the campus simply because he was a scholar.

McCombs said that scholarship didn't have to be an isolated activity. He said it should be something that would help journalists on the job.

George Reedy pointed out that the journalism faculty member has the problem of doing research that a member of another discipline regards as scholarly attainment. He said there would be difficulty in obtaining genuine research in journalism until there was a better concept on the part of the university as to what the journalism discipline was.

Gray said that PhD's who were put into the classroom without preparation for teaching had difficulty reaching the student. He said that journalism educators had to organize their faculties better for both teaching and research. We usually give a light load to the senior faculty member to encourage research, he said. It should be the other way around. The younger members are more inclined to undertake research projects.

Edward P. Bassett, University of Kansas, said there were reports that some departments were concentrating on research rather than preparing people for journalism.

Bruce Westley asked about the proper relationship of the journalism department to the newspaper industry. He said that the future of journalism was entrusted to the fully qualified scholar who knew and lived the profession. He said that the University of Kentucky had staked its all on the proposition that nothing was more important to life and continued existence than communication. Kentucky is placing its emphasis on this philosophy rather than merely teaching skills.

Thomas Lask, New York (N.Y.) Times, said he was fascinated by the discussion of whether journalism was an enterprise in itself or borrowed bits and pieces from other disciplines.

Graham said it was only in journalism that things were being brought together. He said that journalism education assembled things from other schools and put them together in its own package.

Hillier Krieghbaum, New York University, said that some people seemed to think it was bad to borrow from other disciplines. He said he thought that most disciplines borrowed from each other.

Wayne Danielson, University of Texas at Austin, said he felt the journalism educators were talking as though they were the low man on the university totem pole. He didn't feel this was justified.

Russell Hurst, Sigma Delta Chi, said that editors and publishers should encourage their staff members to continue their education after they have become professional newsmen.

Reed Sarratt, Southern Newspaper Publishers Association, said that SNPA had worked out a program in response to this demand, and that 1,500 employes of southern newspapers had attended 75 seminars and workshops in the last few years. He said they were bringing journalism educators and professionals together for mutual benefit.

Walter Everett, American Press Institute, said API had been conducting seminars for 28 years. Four years ago the seminars were opened to educators in order to improve the mix, but only three have showed up.

I.W. Cole reported that the Urban Journalism Center at Northwestern University was now a permanent, ongoing program.

Judy Brown, New Britain (Conn.) Herald, asked whether special management skills courses for women should be in the journalism schools, API, or where.

Gray said that journalism schools had been remiss in this area. He said that too much time was spent with personnel problems in journalism schools and that a better job had to be done in organizing time. Too much time is spent worrying about the immediate future and not enough time is spent looking 10 to 15 years ahead.

A Report on the Afternoon Session, Thursday, November 1, 1973

by John Dougherty, Managing Editor, Rochester (N.Y.) Times & Union

Topic: The Non-journalism Curriculum

Moderator was John L. Hulteng, School of Journalism, University of Oregon.

Papers were presented by Keith Spalding, President, Franklin and Marshall College; Jack Lyle, Director of Communication Research, Corporation for Public Broadcasting; and Edward W. Barrett, director, Communications Institute, Academy for Educational Development.

Topics: Spalding -- Mastery of a Non-journalism Discipline

Lyle -- Study of Urban Life

Barrett -- Broad Understanding of the Major Issues

The broad theme of this session was: What should the student study besides journalism? How should it be taught? As Hulteng said in his opening remarks, we are drawing up guidelines, suggestive if not prescriptive. His study of what editors thought of journalism schools indicated that editors are preoccupied with the liberal arts and sciences, but the editors weren't sure how they should be taught. Dr. Spalding's theme seemed to be that we should be wary of making the student an expert in another field, that mere exposure to various fields would not make him or her a broad-based, liberally-educated journalist.

Spalding's concluding thesis--that the challenging opportunity is to bring into journalism faculties those who can relate what is in the significant fields to the practice and theory of journalism--was discussed only tangentially. In the writer's opinion, further discussions like this should explore HOW this can be done.

The comment closest to the heart of this discussion was that of Edmund C. Lambeth of Missouri's Washington extension, who noted Dr. Dressel's suggestion of using the professional course to reintroduce the liberal arts. "DO these courses do that?" he asked. Dr. Curtis MacDougall taught such a course (to Lambeth at Northwestern, I presume), so it can be done.

Spalding noted that the editors had been talking to the editors--and the educators to the educators--through much of the conference. He questioned why, when all editors seemed to advocate a liberal education, some asked for the nearly finished technician. Both professions want diversity in education, and will have it, he said. There is no single way to educate a journalist. He put down the references to "the real world" outside the campus, noting the academic world is sometimes "even realer." Many editors have a limited view of the work of the college or the school. Both editors and educators have a tremendous expectation from education. We oversell ourselves on it, Spalding said. It can be proved that not everything can be done by education.

Journalism is an intellectual profession, said Spalding. At another point, Gene Graham of the University of Illinois called it "looking at things through the journalistic 'prism.'" Be careful of suggesting "mastery" of a non-journalism field; exposure isn't mastery, Spalding said. Better you find the lopsided and curious student than the skimmer who is not curious. Dean Melvin D. George of the University of Nebraska, a mathematician, noted later that curiosity CAN be taught.

If you are not careful, Spalding warned the editors, you can force educators to act as trade school teachers and to be viewed as such.

Among some editors, there is the feeling that the words "trade school" and "skill" should be dropped from the lexicon. We are all advocating essentially the same thing--liberally educated people trained to approach the world the way journalists should.

Robert Haiman of the St. Petersburg (Fla.) Times said he was shocked at the unsureness some educators expressed. He urged that graduates be able to (1) understand how the U.S. works, (2) do basic research into things like tax rolls, contracts, legislation, (3) show modest skills with language.

We will train them after that, he said.

It is not the college's role to train, Spalding had said; it is industry's responsibility (one that ANPA Foundation and many papers have accepted). What seemed not clearly understood--or at least was not clearly expressed--was whether editors want Haiman's kind of graduate. Editors don't want people wearing degrees certifying that they have spent four or five years in college "discussing" the profession; if understanding America is a "tool," so it should be considered.

Jack Lyle's paper on studying urban life and Edward D. Barrett's on teaching great issues drew far less discussion than Spalding's, perhaps because there was little quarrel with the usefulness of understanding census data or of understanding one issue thoroughly. The techniques of teaching these, it was implied, will be developed by experiment, by failure, and by going on from there--Mr. Spalding's synthesis, perhaps.

James W. Schwartz of Iowa State University noted there is a difference between teaching what is going on and teaching how to find out what's going on--a central idea with which most agreed.

Screen out the grammatical failures, the third-rate minds, and admit the quality student to your schools, Barrett said. Admit there isn't time to teach everything. This profession calls for a range and breadth of knowledge and experience like no other, even law. But the ideal student should have dug fairly deeply in one area, Barrett said. The normal introductory course in another field is not enough. Draw on the exciting minds on other faculties; give the student guides to further reading, to mid-career education, in those other fields. Compress the "skills" courses if you will, but emphasize writing above all.

Some small-paper editors want technicians, said Richard H. Leonard of the Milwaukee (Wis.) Journal, but the trend among major papers is to want the liberally-educated, and we must be prepared to train them ourselves. Leonard and King Durkee of Copley Newspapers outlined the training programs they conduct, programs aimed at bridging the gap between the school and the newspaper. Durkee noted that the newspaper business terribly neglects the new person. Ronald J. Semple of Lee Enterprises said he never encountered a new reporter who didn't need extensive training and he has seen no difference between the journalism graduate and the non-J-grad.

A long discussion about practices in hiring followed. Harry Rosenfeld of the Washington Post noted that his paper doesn't look for a journalism graduate, but for what the graduate studied, what interests him. Michael Davies of the Louisville Times expressed satisfaction with the non-journalism graduate, but added that a master's degree (from Columbia or Northwestern, for example) was helpful. Strong support for hiring journalism graduates came from Staley T. McBrayer of Pasadena, Tex., whose suburban papers "are where the growth and the action is." "Thank God for the J-schools," he exclaimed. Robert E. Hartley of Lindsay-Schaub said his newspapers realize increasingly how dependent they are on the J-schools; recruiting and competing there have raised salaries, he noted. We should be out looking at those schools, Durkee said, for journalism education is the best route.

There'll always be "magnet papers" like the New York Times and Washington Post, said Dean Roy Fisher of Missouri, so don't be too thin-skinned when the Post says it doesn't care.

"Isn't economics a part of the liberal education of the journalist?" asked Eugene C. Dorsey of the Gannett Rochester Newspapers. Spalding said that there are whole new boundaries in the practice of journalism; his prejudice is that the schools give "enough and no more" of the many liberal disciplines.

In a show of hands to the question of whether their newsroom people of the last few years had come from J-schools, five editors said 100 per cent had, 5 or 6 said 75 per cent had, 2 said 50 per cent had, and 1 said 25 per cent had.

Sylvan Meyer of the Miami News said he urges high school kids to do some work on the student newspaper for experience in techniques. He believes J-schools give some ethical understanding and hopes the graduate has learned how to gather unsorted information and synthesize it into a brief news report. The hardest thing is to know a story when you see it.

We hire people, not graduates, said Charles Alexander of the Dayton (Ohio) Journal World. As we go to a drug store for drugs, we go to a journalism school for those interested in journalism. We don't turn away the non-journalism school graduate but he must come to us. We don't look at the curriculum so much as we look at the graduate's broad interests, evaluating him as a person. People don't need to be kicked along through school, he said. The curriculum should not be so structured that it gets in their way.

The smaller papers and smaller cities are more attractive now, several educators noted; the life style is more pleasant, the skiing closer. These papers are also better managed, said Howard Ziff of the University of Massachusetts. Richard Gray of Indiana University noted the same trend. Student Lindstrom of Michigan State said many students want smaller papers; he questioned much of the discussion this day, wondering why he spent $15,000 and four years if journalism grads weren't wanted. That question was answered, however; they ARE wanted.

Edwin P. Young of the Providence (R.I.) Journal and Bulletin was disturbed by the equation of "trade schools" and liberal education. "We've found," he said, "that the good journalism school gives a broader liberal education than the arts school."

Neale Copple of the University of Nebraska noted that a sifting takes place before the editor ever sees the graduate. "As a city editor on a small paper," he said, "I was spoiling more reporters than I was helping." Now he thinks the reverse is true.

Haiman noted there was absolutely no conclusive data as to whence the best, most talented, most likely to succeed.

Regarding Haiman's plea for understanding of government, one educator said, "You won't get that in the political science department, but in journalism."

Bruce H. Westley of the University of Kentucky described the double major required there and urged getting away from "being all things to all media." Have a fundamental enough core so you don't proliferate and waste courses, he said.

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Several other themes were discussed this afternoon. A brief summary:

Ray Hiebert of the University of Maryland described a cooperative effort with the Montgomery Country Journal in which advanced reporting students cover the country for the Journal and the Journal prints the unversity's laboratory paper, which actually is a College Park, Md. newspaper.

Frederick T.C. Yu of Columbia University noted that the Great Issues course at Columbia wasn't a failure but has been modified.

Howard Ziff said the great reporters--the Roykos, Laheys, Bergers, Caldwells, Maynards--come from "the other side of the tracks." Later he worried that a five-year college requirement would wipe these people off the board.

Participatory journalism, another earlier topic, was described by Dale Davis of the Philadelphia (Pa.) Bulletin, who urged more attention to sabbaticals for newsmen, and asked what formalized programs are being promoted for continuing education. (Several deans spoke to this, and it was evident there will be more mid-career programs.)

In conclusion, John Hulteng cited again how vital it is to teach writing (or coach it, as someone said) and to inculcate a sense of ethics into the graduate.

A Report on the Morning Session, Friday, November 2, 1973

by Edwin P. Young, Vice President and Assistant Publisher,
Providence (R.I.) Journal and Bulletin

Topic: The Purposes and Role of Journalism Schools

The session was moderated by John B. Adams, Dean, School of Journalism, University of North Carolina.

Papers were presented by Charles T. Duncan, School of Journalism, University of Oregon; James W. Carey, Director, Institute of Communications Research, University of Illinois; and Sylvan H. Meyer, Editor, Miami (Fla.) News.

Topics: Duncan -- Objectives of Journalism Schools

Carey -- Criticism of the Press

Meyer -- Evaluation of Journalism Schools

Opening the discussion, Charles Duncan slightly modified his conclusion that official statements of schools in catalogs and elsewhere tended to be "lucid expressions of the schools' aims, usually couched in terms sufficiently precise and comprehensive to serve the purpose." Duncan said that the statements tend to be broad and rather general. Later in the discussion, Neale Copple, University of Nebraska, generated widespread approval from the assembly when he described course descriptions as "not lies, but just generalizations." Outside of this, the item on course definitions seemed to draw light interest.

Not so the opinion in Duncan's written statement that the accommodation of non-majors did not cause serious problems, despite the rising enrollment trend and tight budgets for journalism schools. James Schwartz, Iowa State University, led the attack on that observation by saying he is almost overwhelmed by the demands of non-majors, which are growing "spectacularly." He said he is seeking ways to shut down this trend, and he asked the views of others; these he got, in abundance.

Frank Senger, Michigan State University, said he was "shocked" at the conclusion that non-majors were not a problem. He said he turned away 160 from his courses; most were people wanting writing courses. Harold Nelson, University of Wisconsin, added that he already has too many majors to teach and observed that respondents to Duncan's survey had failed to get across the problem of numbers of students - both majors and non-majors. "This is our most serious problem," he said. He added that a new definition of objectives seems very important, as a major in journalism can consider himself in some jeopardy. He said the problem is widespread among journalism schools.

Richard Gray, Indiana University, said that the non-major of a few years ago is now a major and is often using journalism as a preparation for law or another profession. Alfred Scroggins, University of South Carolina, added that journalism schools are bound to continue to serve this function. There was some further discussion on ways of separating courses open to majors and non-majors, with the observation that some schools make courses in writing available only to majors. Bruce Westley, University of Kentucky, summed up this phase of the discussion by saying that for his majors, journalism is a laboratory course, and for non-majors, it is not.

Fairly early in the discussion, Duncan said it was obvious that the survey he sent out did not specifically isolate the problem of non-majors.

James Carey, who prepared the paper on press criticism, began immediately to put flesh on the bones of his skeleton of more effective press criticism. He said there are many good things in life that at some point in history reverse themselves and become no longer good. Thus it is highly possible that at some point (he did not say "in time") we may become dumber by reading newspapers. Newspapers will improve only through constant, open criticism. Ombudsmen, press councils and journalism reviews, while steps in the right direction, will not do the job. Another kind of criticism must be developed, and it has to be a criticism of language - in the broad sense of the term. Carey cited the concern of the English for their own language.

Carey admitted that the concept has a certain vagueness, but it is not vague when it attempts to evaluate styles of reporting and events themselves. It is not only a question of neglected stories (he mentioned the neglect of the story of Congress in the recent mass coverage of Watergate and the Executive Department). It is also in stories not comprehensively covered. Such criticism must be undertaken outside journalism reviews with their limited readership. "For instance," said Carey, "why not put editors on 'Face the Nation' and make them justify the stories they have selected for their papers?" Criticism must get out into a wider public arena. Journalism is the acquisition and maintenance of language.

In elaborating his written conclusion that the greatest contribution of journalism education to journalism is not hired hands but students, faculty and a community of critics of journalistic methods, Carey said, "One of the most valuable offerings of journalism education may not be graduates, but a body of criticism."

During the questions that followed, Carey went back to one of his written propositions - that the emergence of a critical community should not be resisted by the press, but should be encouraged. Criticism is not the mark of failure and irrelevance; it is the sign of vigor and importance. In the Soviet Union, the arts are not only actively censored, but hyper-criticized within Soviet bureaucracy. While there is an unfortunate side to this, it does suggest a positive value. In the Soviet Union, poetry and literature are important; the work of of artists is an active part of life, crucial material in the shaping and definition of Russian culture. American artists should be so fortunate.

In the open discussion, Carey said, "In criticism, people don't come to agree; they find out more precisely how to vex each other."

A lively discussion following Carey's remarks was cut off only by the inevitable coffee break. Among the comments:

By paper author Sylvan Meyer, Miami (Fla.) News: Often, the university produces, in the role of critic, a hyper-critic who tries to challenge the establishment, to find out if his editors and publishers are as venal as he has been told. Press problems come from laziness and incompetence - not from venality.

Harry Rosenfeld, Washington (D.C.) Post: We have made attempts at the Post to hold luncheons where people can speak to us. The audience that is vocal does not share with newspapers the ideals that make newspapers good. Instead, they want good news about themselves. How do you get the inarticulate part of the audience to participate? Carey replied to this that we must explore ways of getting this participation. Can a newspaper report on itself? Perhaps the mystery behind the mystery is that there is no mystery at all. He added that there are words, stories, a conception of the world that is presented every day that should be subjected to analysis. Edwin Emery, University of Minnesota, interjected that the newspaper is the most important tool we have to do this. He added that students have heard about ethics - then we turn them loose on the newspapers....

Michael J. Davies, The Louisville (Ky.) Times, said that they had tried press critics. He mentioned the Milwaukee press review which is carried on TV at 8 A.M. Sunday. It started with the University of Wisconsin and is quite effective. Its proceedings are reported in the newspaper.

William E. Porter, University of Michigan: Criticism in this culture tends always to seek personal flaws, and what Carey is talking about is language; what we should deal with is form. For instance, students don't know how a bill gets through Congress. Thus, they write a story so that the reader doesn't know how the bill gets through.

Gene S. Graham, University of Illinois, thought that Carey's theme was aimed at editors. Journalism teachers should teach students to get all the answers; the business of the editors is then to put the answers into the proper form.

In his written statement, Carey had said that the same critical analysis that is regularly turned upon nature and our political institutions must be turned upon the sources of information and culture. It is not a matter of "shooting the messenger," but of subjecting him to systematic, critical public analysis lest he be controlled by censorship or corrupted by his own power and illusions.

On that subject, Galen R. Rarick, Ohio State University, said that one effort to find out what newspapers are doing is to get feedback from their audiences. About two-thirds of newspapers say they are trying to do something along this line. Reed Sarratt, SNPA Foundation, injected that newspapers who rely on letters from their readers to assay their performance are not getting proper feedback. He said research shows that people who write letters to newspapers are atypical and not representative of the median audience. This is in contrast to people who write about radio performance, who are, in fact, typical of the radio audience. Why this is so was not explained.

In summarizing his paper, Sylvan H. Meyer argued for constant evaluation of organization, administration and teaching in journalism schools, including improvement in the accrediting process and in the assessment of classroom teaching.

Since this paper covered many aspects of accreditation and performance in the classroom, no central theme developed in the discussion that followed, although all segments of the audience seemed interested and ready to comment. Meyer covered some of the major points, saying that the government overview of journalism education has cooled off, probably because of budgetary limits. He recognized that there is support for public members of accrediting committees and for the accreditation of sequences vis-a-vis the accreditation of schools as such. On the matter of junior colleges, Meyer said they exist and are teaching - or they say they are teaching - journalism. He added there is a strong feeling that the ratio of journalism courses should be increased over the 75 to 25 per cent ratio even if other courses have to be brought into journalism schools and "exposed through the journalism prism." He also advocated a course dealing with information and idea flow in this society and how to evaluate the information readers get. Other comment:

B. Dale Davis, Philadelphia (Pa.) Bulletin: I was struck by the reference to government intervention. What form does the pressure take? Meyer: Four or five years ago, the Health, Education, Welfare agency certified certain schools for veterans under the GI bill; the agency then started to set certain standards of its own and to get into the accreditation process. The government began to insist on all sorts of protections for civil rights, etc. It got close to specifying courses. And this seemed a threat.

Questioned about a plan for accreditation of junior colleges, Meyer said that certain courses are accepted by senior colleges under the heading of "articulation" - whatever that means. Warren K. Agee, University of Georgia, added that certain junior colleges want to be "certified" by three-man committees. Meyer said that the primary reason for changing the 75 to 25 per cent ratio of courses was to prevent junior college students from being blocked out of the senior college courses in journalism.

James W. Schwartz, Iowa State University, said he has conducted an accrediting study for several years. He struck a gut issue by recommending that journalism students should be taught what information is, where it comes from, how to evaluate it, etc. Meyer added that there is a feeling that most press criticism fails to reach the public because the public cannot evaluate what it gets. What Meyer is looking for is a readership more educated to the producing of newspapers and better equipped to evaluate what it reads. The reader often doesn't know the difference between a news story and an editorial. How does he know what is credible and what isn't? We know the meaning of "sources," of the direct quote, or the indirect quote. But the audience doesn't.

Edward P. Bassett, University of Kansas: Meyer makes the point that reading and writing ought to be taught at the junior level. The products of the junior colleges are uneven.

Frank Senger, Michigan State University: There's no getting around Bassett's point. We have a basic exam in writing that we give all junior college students.

Bruce H. Westley, University of Kentucky: Eighty or ninety per cent of faculties at junior colleges cannot be employed in senior colleges.

Earl L. Wallis, California State College, Northridge: We have a zero growth situation in the 70's. This is a time for selection, rather than just a time for accommodating to numbers. We should be more selective of students, and we need earlier attrition. He referred to morals and to the continual erosion of standards.

Reed Sarratt, SNPA: I think that there are other aspects of accreditation. I would like to discuss accreditation by sequence rather than by school.

James Schwartz, Iowa State University: Administrators feel that the question of accreditation by sequence should be re-studied, and not just dropped.

The noon gong ended this lively discussion, with several participants still to be heard.

A Report on the Final Session, Friday Afternoon, November 2, 1973

by Judith W. Brown, Editor, New Britain (Conn.) Herald

Topic: The Challenges We Face: General Discussion

Moderator of the session was Don Carter, Executive Editor, Macon (Ga.) Telegraph and News.

Purpose of the session was a general discussion of all the papers and comments made over the three days of the conference.

"Between the dream and the reality....falls the shadow." This T.S. Eliot line might well define the tone which pervaded the conference on Education in Journalism in the 70's and beyond.

Throughout the three days, the journalism educators and the representatives of "the real world" (editors and publishers) attempted to dispel the shadow cast by the lack of communication (an evident irony in a business of communication) that has clouded the relationship of educators and professionals.

In this final summation session Moderator Carter elicited comments and advice which could help sustain the understanding that the sessions had begun and to help ANPA Foundation seek constructive follow-up benefits for all. Though there was much disagreement, there were many points of agreement, and many recommendations won wide support.

"We need more rap sessions and seminars with live feedback and discussion about specific stories and reporters among editors, teachers and students."

Task forces of editors and educators were recommended to study such big questions as the liberal arts versus journalism school education. "Journalism is the most liberating of all the arts," someone suggested.

Do we want "a student who can be swept up in journalism," or "someone with a knowledge of government in depth?" Another said, "We'd be satisfied with a reporter who can read a balance sheet."

There must be studies of the role played by junior colleges in our profession, and on how to improve selection of students in light of the flood of applications. "Should there be control of class sizes?"

Committees comprising educators and practicing journalists should continually study the curricula of journalism schools to make them relevant and helpful.

Another question which dominated discussion was: Should management and newspaper economics be part of a journalism school education on the graduate level or is the newspaper responsible for economic education? "The timing is not right; undergraduates are not interested in these practicalities," one participant contended. Walter Everett, American Press Institute, disagreed and thought management and economics important in journalism school curricula. "These should be part of the newspaper's own orientation program," an editor observed.

Similarly, should J-school graduates be adept at using the electric typewriter and have a knowledge of the new technology? "All we want is a reporter who can spell," said one editor succinctly.

Certainly, there was a wide consensus that journalism schools should not be required to buy tons of new equipment but should rely on the ANPA Research Institute and nearby newspapers for technological advice and demonstration.

Defensive attitudes on the part of the journalism schools were cited, but, as one educator put it, "We (the J-schools) must not lose sight of our principal reasons for being--coaching in writing and seeing that the graduate is imbued with a sense of responsibility to the profession."

One speaker stressed that students should be encouraged to be curious, to be able to "play dumb" and ask questions. "We must get students to see that asking questions may be more important than learning facts."

Many questions were raised, but there were also serious thoughtful suggestions: Task forces to study in depth questions raised at the conference. More "encounter" sessions like this one, but on a smaller scale with representation from journalism schools and the working press. APME continuing study committees as an avenue for discovering what the "grass roots editor" wants from journalism programs.

Another suggestion: Research papers are constantly being prepared by students and J-educators and they need to be given wider distribution in our profession.

The establishment of shared committee work should be routine, as should membership in one another's professional organizations.

"Go to lunch together" was a practical suggestion. Editors should go to the J-school classes, while J-school educators should see the newspaper plant. "In practical, simple ways, we can keep up the splendid dialogue begun here."

The editor-in-residence program in the universities was cited as a fine way to bring together members of the working press with students and educators.

Stress was placed on intern programs as an important way to give training and practical experience, while the idea of "a semester internship" for a journalism student or a professor was offered.

There should be greater effort to bring minorities into both the discipline and the profession. "Journalism schools are in tune with the times and with changes as they occur."

"In an age of communication, our survival is based on how effective we are in communication. We need to identify and communicate," another participant volunteered.

"Professionals in other fields have similar problems."

"There is little talk about the philosophy of journalism, of the responsibility of journalism education to take into consideration that it is mirroring the social order."

"The journalism school graduate must make his own breaks by taking advantage of each opportunity and by not placing his expectations too high."

"Each newspaper has a responsibility to keep its employees informed..."

In his introduction to the final session, Stewart Macdonald pointed out that the conference sought concrete ways for ANPA Foundation to attack the challenges that face journalism education. Through the sharing and understanding of different viewpoints, the position of journalism education in the university and in the "working world" can be clarified. Certainly this was accomplished--problems were defined and guidelines were suggested for further development of the issues.

In the meantime, as Philip Meyer of Knight Newspapers noted, "I didn't realize the problems were so great. Please just try to keep things going!" Conferences like this one sponsored by ANPA Foundation in Reston should do exactly that.

3

ABOUT THE AUTHORS OF THE WORKING PAPERS

Edward W. Barrett (Broad Understanding of the Major Issues)

Mr. Barrett is director of the Communications Institute of the Academy for Educational Development in New York. He served as Director of Overseas Operations of the Office of War Information during World War II, as an Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs and then executive vice president of the public relations firm of Hill and Knowlton. From 1956 to 1968 Mr. Barrett was dean of the Graduate School of Journalism at Columbia University and is a past president of the Association for Education in Journalism. He is the author or editor of four books and many magazine articles. He was a recipient in 1969 of the Maria Moor Cabot Prize of Columbia University for his contributions to inter-American understanding, a winner in 1967 of the Carr Van Anda Award of Ohio University and in 1972 of the Kappa Tau Alpha Award of the University of Illinois.

James W. Carey (Criticism of the Press)

Dr. Carey is director, Institute of Communications Research, University of Illinois and also holds the position of professor of journalism, Research Professor of Communications at Illinois. Dr. Carey serves on numerous planning and policy committees at the University, holds active membership in the Association for Education in Journalism, the American Economic Association, the American Sociological Association, the International Communication Association and the Popular Culture Society of America. He writes frequently for professional and scholarly journals, has presented papers at professional associations and university coloquia and currently serves on the Board of Editors of Journalism Quarterly and Journalism Monographs.

John H. Colburn (Economics of the Press)

Mr. Colburn joined Landmark Communications, the parent company for newspaper operations in Norfolk and Roanoke, Virginia, and Greensboro, North Carolina in April 1972. He is vice president for corporate development. Mr. Colburn has served on the Board of Directors of the American Newspaper Publishers Association, ANPA Research Institute, the American Society of Newspaper Editors and the Board of Trustees of ANPA Foundation. In 1959-60 he was president of the Associated Press Managing Editors Association. Mr. Colburn is a visiting lecturer at Northwestern University's Medill School of Journalism. He is the recipient of the 1969 Award from the University of Minnesota School of Journalism and Communications for distinguished service in journalism and in 1962 received the John Peter Zenger Award of the University of Arizona for "effective work in support of freedom of the press." His career encompassed work on the Columbus (Ohio) Dispatch, the Associated Press, managing editor of the Richmond (Va.) Times-Dispatch and editor and publisher of the Wichita (Kan.) Eagle and Beacon before he joined Landmark.

Paul L. Dressel (Journalism and a Liberal Education)

Dr. Dressel is assistant Provost and Director of Institutional Research at Michigan State University. He is nationally known for his studies and books on educational evaluation, curriculum and research. Currently he is consultant to numerous colleges and universities on problems of research and curriculum development. Dr. Dressel is the author of articles and yearbook chapters on evaluation, counseling, testing, curriculum development, instruction and research in higher education in the Educational Record, the Journal of Higher Education, Change Magazine, Educational and Psychological Measurement and many others. He is also the author or editor of ten books on evaluation, curriculum and other topics.

Dr. Dressel is the author of the definitive study, "Liberal Education and Journalism," published in 1963 for the Institute of Higher Education, Teachers College, Columbia University.

Charles T. Duncan (Objectives of Journalism Schools)

Prof. Duncan is professor of journalism at the University of Oregon. He has taught at the Universities of Nevada, Nebraska, Minnesota, Colorado and Oregon and served as dean of the schools of journalism at both the University of Oregon and the University of Colorado. He has also served as Associate Dean and Dean of Faculties at the University of Oregon. Prof. Duncan is a contributor to professional journals and newspapers and is co-author of "The American Lawyer," University of Chicago Press, 1954. He is a member and past president of the Association for Education in Journalism. Professor Duncan also has had wide professional newspaper experience as a reporter, advertising manager and managing editor on newspapers in Minnesota.

Gene S. Graham (Non-verbal Communication)

Gene Graham is professor of journalism at the University of Illinois and has been at the University since 1964 when he left a distinguished career as a professional newsman. He began his career with Nashville Tennessean covering first the police, then a variety of government political beats at the local, state and national level and finally became a public affairs editor and editorial writer. In 1962 he won the Pulitzer Prize for National Affairs Reporting and that same year was named a Nieman Fellow in Journalism at Harvard. Mr. Graham has been a communications consultant to universities and newspapers. He served as summer training director for the Boston Globe for four years. He is an author of "One-Man, One-Vote: Baker v. Carr and the American Levellers" published in 1972 by Atlantic Monthly Press/Little-Brown.

Richard G. Gray (Professional Media Experience)

Dr. Gray is chairman of the Department of Journalism, Indiana University. Before joining the Indiana faculty, he taught at the University of Minnesota and Northwestern University. Dr. Gray has also had wide professional experience on the Tacoma (Wash.) Star, St. Louis (Mo.) Post-Dispatch and with Time, Inc. He spent two years as national director of Project Public Information, a U.S. Office of Education endeavor to strengthen state departments of education public information programs. He is currently a consultant to the U.S. Office of Education and various state departments of education. Dr. Gray is author of numerous newspaper, magazine and journal articles. He is active in many professional activities within the Associated Press Managing Editors Association, the Association for Education in Journalism, the American Council on Education for Journalism and the American Society of Newspaper Editors.

John E. Leard (New Technology)

Mr. Leard is executive editor of the Richmond Times-Dispatch and News Leader and a vice-president of Richmond Newspapers, Inc. He joined the Richmond News Leader in 1939 as an editorial assistant to the late Dr. Douglas S. Freeman. Shortly thereafter he was awarded a Pulitzer traveling scholarship from Columbia University for study in South America. Upon his return he became assistant editor of the Atlantic Monthly. After serving in military intelligence during World War II, he worked as telegraph editor of the New Haven (Conn.) Register, but returned in 1947 to Richmond and served in the capacity of reporter, copy editor, state editor, assistant city editor, city editor of the News Leader and then managing editor of the Times-Dispatch. He is a member of the American Society of Newspaper Editors and has served on the board of the Associated Press Managing Editors Association.

Jack Lyle (Study of Urban Life)

Dr. Lyle is Director of Communication Research of the Corporation for Public Broadcasting in Washington, D.C. Prior to coming to Washington, he was professor of journalism at the University of California at Los Angeles and a Senior Fellow of the East-West Communication Institute in Honolulu. He is presently on leave of absence from the Institute. Dr. Lyle has long been concerned with educational utilization of the mass media and communication problems in urban areas. He served as administrative director of a UNESCO project studying the mass media in developing countries. He has served as consultant in the field of urban area studies to the Ford Foundation, World Bank, International Council on Educational Development, the RAND Corporation and the National Institute of Mental Health. He is author or editor of several books including "Television in the Lives of Our Children," "The News in Megalopolis," and "The People Look at Television," of articles in professional and scholarly journals and is a contributor to the work at the ANPA News Research Center and to various professional and scholarly journals.

Maxwell E. McCombs (Professional Activity Beyond the Classroom)

Dr. McCombs was recently appointed John Ben Snow Professor of Newspaper Research, School of Public Communications at Syracuse University. Prior to joining the Syracuse faculty he served on the faculties of U.C.L.A., the University of North Carolina and the University of Wisconsin. He has had professional experience as a newspaper reporter in Louisiana and as an information officer with the U.S. Army Reserve. Dr. McCombs is currently a member of the American Newspaper Publishers Association News Research Steering Committee, a consultant to Knight Newspapers in Charlotte, N.C., and is an associate editor of Journalism Quarterly and on the Editorial Board of Journalism Monographs.

Philip E. Meyer (Social Science Reporting)

Mr. Meyer is the author of the recently published "Precision Journalism," a book devoted to the same topic as his paper for the ANPA Foundation Conference. Mr. Meyer is currently on a leave of absence as a Washington correspondent of Knight Newspapers. He is writing another book, "Introduction to American Government," due for publication in 1975, and is the author of many articles in both popular and professional magazines. A former Nieman Fellow, Mr. Meyer has participated in many professional activities, and has held posts as secretary-treasurer, Council for the Advancement of Science Writing, Chairman of Social Science Briefings, a project director and consultant to the Russell Sage Foundation, a speaker and panelist at various seminars and professional meetings of the American Press Institute, American Newspaper Publishers Association, Southern Newspaper Publishers Association, American Political Science Association, the American Association for Public Opinion Research and the Association for Education in Journalism. Mr. Meyer has received the Journalism Memorial Award of Kansas State University, the Public Affairs Reporting Award of the American Political Science Association, and he shared in the 1968 Pulitzer Prize for General Local Reporting awarded to the Detroit Free Press staff.

Sylvan H. Meyer (Evaluation of Journalism Schools)

Mr. Meyer is the editor of The Miami (Fla.) News and has served on daily newspapers and trade journals in Georgia. Mr. Meyer has received many awards including a Nieman Fellowship, the Honor Medal of the Freedoms Foundation, the Sigma Delta Chi Distinguished Service in Editorial Writing, the U.S. Department of Army Patriotic Civilian Service Award, the Sidney Hillman Award, the American Society of Planning Officials Award and numerous state press association awards in editorial writing, general writing excellence, etc. He is a member of the Pulitzer Prize Advisory Board, a former Director of the American Society of Newspaper Editors, past chairman of the ASNE Committee on Education in Journalism and is currently a member of the accrediting committee of the American Council on Education in Journalism.

John P. Robinson (Attitude Formation)

Dr. Robinson is Study Director of the Survey Research Center of the University of Michigan and holds the rank of assistant professor in the Michigan Department of Journalism. He enjoys a wide teaching experience in mass communications research, public opinion, statistics and attitudes and social behavior. He is the author of articles and books for Public Opinion Quarterly, Social Science Quarterly, the American Political Science Review and the American Journal of Sociology. Dr. Robinson has written on time use, measurement of political and psychological attitudes, public information about world affairs, television and social behavior. He is the author of reports to the Surgeon General's Committee on Television and Social Behavior and is a television producer for the University of Michigan TV Center. He was adviser to the Detroit Free Press on the well-known "instant survey" of 1967 Detroit Civil Disobedience.

Keith Spalding (Mastery of a Non-journalism Discipline)

Dr. Spalding is president of Franklin and Marshall College in Lancaster, Pa. He is a former newspaperman and served as reporter, editor, sales promotion manager and in other posts on the New York Herald Tribune before entering educational administration first with Pennsylvania State University, then Johns Hopkins University and finally Franklin and Marshall. He is a member of the American Council on Education where he served as secretary and chairman of various committees. Dr. Spalding is a member and director of the American Association of Higher Education, the Association of American Colleges, the National Endowment for the Humanities and the Pennsylvania State Board of Education. He holds honorary degrees from Albright College, Temple University, Jefferson Medical College, Waynesburg College and the Dickinson Law School.

Howard M. Ziff (The Journalist's Body of Knowledge)

Professor Ziff is director of Journalistic Studies and associate professor of English, the University of Massachusetts. He worked in a variety of positions as a reporter, assistant city editor, city editor and editorial writer with Pacific Stars and Stripes, the City News Bureau of Chicago and the Chicago Daily News. He is the author of numerous newspaper and magazine articles.

4

The Conference Working Papers

A Paper Supporting Proposition #1: Journalism and a Liberal Education

Journalistic skills are intellectual abilities. To acquire them is to acquire a liberal, not a highly technical or specialized education.

Prepared by

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for

"The Conference on Education for Newspaper Journalists in the Seventies and Beyond," October 31, November 1 and 2, 1973, Reston, Virginia

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LIBERAL EDUCATION AND JOURNALISM

Paul L. Dressel
Michigan State University

Liberal education has been variously defined. So, too, has journalism. Hence, any attempt to discuss the relation of liberal education and journalism requires some preliminary consideration of the essential nature of each field before considering how they may be juxtaposed. In this preliminary consideration, it will become evident that the extent to which there is a meaningful conjunction of liberal education and journalism depends greatly on the respective conceptions of each field separately. This analysis, therefore, is presented in four parts: first, a consideration of the various conceptions of liberal education; second, a quick review of several conceptions of journalism; and third, a consideration of how the several conceptions of each field can be related to each other. Finally, I shall indicate my own view as to the most desirable conjunction of journalism and liberal education and point to some of the implications for the development or modification of journalism education.

Nature of Liberal Education

One still rather common conception of liberal education is based solely on the Western traditions: Greece, Rome, the Middle Ages, Renaissance, Age of Enlightenment, etc. The conception is closely related to the early rigid classical education of the colonial college and favors a strong emphasis on history, philosophy, literature, and languages. However, this interpretation makes it difficult to give adequate attention to science and technology or to the social sciences as these relate to the pressing problems of our day. Furthermore, there is little support in this era for a completely prescribed curriculum, especially since it is no longer possible for each individual to have a meaningful exposure to *all* knowledge.

A second conception of liberal education views it as having two components. Depth involves an extended contact with a single one of the many disciplines into which knowledge has been divided. Breadth involves, in one sense or another, an overview of major subdivisions of knowledge. The hope is that the combination of breadth and depth provides some grasp of the major facts, concepts, and principles which constitute our cultural heritage, whereas an attempt to study all disciplines in a limited space of time could only result in superficiality. The most common curricular pattern evidencing this view is that of majors, minors, and distribution requirements in several broad fields supplemented by explicit requirements in foreign language, English composition, and physical education. In recent years, these rather rigid structures have been questioned by both faculty and students. The pattern adds up nicely in terms of credits but not in terms of either relevance or educational impact. Its greatest weakness was in its attempt to equate a liberal education with a quick tour of the liberal arts and a more extended study of one of them. But *knowledge* of the liberal arts--especially if limited to western traditions--is not an adequate interpretation of a liberal education for the present day. A liberal education is evidenced by what a person *is*, not by what he knows.

A broader conception of liberal education tends to ignore the separate disciplines as the immediate basis for program planning and to replace this by some alternative approach. One of these utilizes larger groupings such as social sciences, humanities, natural sciences, and fine arts. The difficulty with this approach is that these groupings are just that--a collection of disciplines having some common foci but lacking any generally accepted structure, concepts, principles, and methodologies. Unless some additional bases for organization are found, the interdisciplinary approach may only yield overstuffed courses which provide a quick tour of isolated segments of disciplines. Such courses, once widespread under the banner of general education, are no longer viable. Neither faculty nor students find them attractive.

A problem or theme orientation represents another way to organize educational experience. The University of Wisconsin at Green Bay, for example, has received widespread attention for its focus on ecology. Urban problems, race, age, and health represent other themes which have been found useful in organizing more realistic and relevant educational experiences either for courses or for independent study. Such an approach may require delving into several disciplines, so there is a reasonable concern that this may be done superficially by students and even by professors who are not (cannot be) equally well grounded in all disciplines which may be found to be contributory to understanding and solution of a problem.

Broad concepts such as freedom, equality, equity, symmetry, truth, beauty are inter- or even trans-disciplinary and offer bases for organization of education. These concepts move toward a value orientation and in their treatment are often heavily dependent on attitudes, beliefs, and prior experience. Perhaps the faculties have too long attempted to produce sterile content-based courses in which human values played little role, but some recent ventures in offering courses which seem solely to involve emotional confrontation and release hardly seem to deserve a place in the university, however valuable they may be in individual therapy.

A recurrent problem with the attempt to provide a liberal education is the lack of clarity as to what constitutes a liberal education. Acquaintance with Western tradition--the classical conception of a liberal education--emphasized knowledge and assumed that out of this knowledge of essential truths would come appropriate values and attitudes which would determine what an individual believed and how he behaved. But this approach denied the applicability of the concept of liberal education to other cultures and, in fact, automatically assigned them an inferior position. Accordingly, there has been a demand for courses on Eastern cultures, Black culture, Chicano culture, etc. Certainly the history, the liberature, and even the basic values of these various cultures have distinctive characteristics, but if liberal education is to have any continuing meaning for educational planning, it must not be culture bound. This can best be avoided by defining the liberally educated person rather than by attempting to define the courses which may assist that development.

One approach to defining a liberal education specifies the following:

1. A knowledge of one's cultural heritage.

2. Awareness of and ability to use the modes of thought and analysis characteristic of the several disciplines.

3. Ability to communicate effectively with others (reading, writing, listening, speaking).

4. Awareness of and sensitivity to values and attitudes, a conscious acceptance of some set of values as a basis for one's own life and an acceptance of and respect for differing values found in other individuals and cultures.

These four characteristics are somewhat abstract, but they recognize liberal education as transcending cultural differences. One can be liberally educated within his own culture, but to transcend cultures a liberal education must include additional knowledge, language skills, and possibly new modes of thought.

Another approach to defining a liberal education moves toward more explicit description of the behavior expected of the liberally educated person. Stated briefly, the liberally educated person is one who is

(1) capable of defining a problem or issue, investigating it using a wide variety of resources and reaching some conclusions about it;

(2) able to communicate effectively with others both in expressing his own ideas and in understanding and assimilating theirs;

(3) aware of and concerned about current events and undertakes to develop and express his own convictions about these events;

(4) sensitive to his own attitudes and values, strives to unify these into a coherent set and base his behavior upon them while, at the same time, recognizing that others have distinctive values and attitudes which deserve respect;

(5) seeking continually to organize his accumulating knowledge and experiences into larger and consistent wholes consonant with his attitudes and values which may also be simultaneously maturing and changing.

Such a statement of objectives--which I prefer to call competencies--is quite independent of traditional disciplinary organization. An educational experience--formal or informal, liberal arts or professional, science or humanities--makes a liberal education contribution when it encourages the development of these competencies or requires that they be exhibited for satisfactory performance. It is worthy of note (and I shall return to the point) that professional education can be liberal in the context of this definition.

Conceptions of Journalism and Journalism Education

There are contrasting points of view with regard to the role of journalism in our society. Exemplifying the objective reporting conception, one professor was quite explicit in saying that he did not permit his students to express personal points of view or to favor one point of view over another. He--and others, too--argued that the task of the journalist is that of accurate reporting or of translating the esoteric language of the expert into language intelligible to the citizen. In this conception of journalism, a liberal education is primarily valued as a means of insuring the necessary wide knowledge. In contrast, a journalism professor who insists that only a liberally educated man can be a journalist is more concerned with attitudes, values, and judgment than with mere factual knowledge.

Among journalism educators, there are some who definitely accept one or the other of these distinctive points of view. Others argue that the journalist must sometimes fulfill one role and sometimes another. The journalist who presents opinions as facts is obviously irresponsible, but supposedly objective reporting of facts may be equally irresponsible, for no two people hear or see an incident in quite the same way, and unreported or unrecognized background factors may give very different significance to the same facts. The journalist must both report and interpret, and he may also advocate; but both he and his audience must be aware of which is being done at any given stage in a communication.

Technical Journalism

Although these differences in conception of the role of the journalist are apparently more relevant for the news-editorial field than for other journalistic fields, it is only the choice of words that makes it seem so. All journalism is concerned with communication and all communication is faced with these problems. Moreover, there are reasonably consistent, although less than unanimous, patterns of thinking on these matters in particular schools.

A technical journalism orientation seems to pervade some programs. The term "technical journalism" seems originally to have connoted concern about techniques and writing in technical fields such as home economics and agriculture. Agriculture journalism, for example, can be regarded as requiring a composite of knowing agriculture *and* knowing the techniques of journalism. The fields of home economics, agriculture, and science journalism seem to be regarded in this fashion by many journalism educators and by many of the professors in these fields. This dichotomous conception is understandable, but it has undesirable overtones, perpetuating arguments as to whether knowing the field *or* knowing how to write is most important. It also affects thinking about the relationship of journalism and liberal education.

Individuals having this technical journalism orientation come to regard knowledge of a field and knowledge of journalism as different facets of education. Although they may agree that journalism requires a liberal education, it is only because one cannot write very much without knowing something about the subject. Thus liberal education tends to become a "technical" field for the journalist, and professional journalism courses exist as an array of courses designed to develop technical competencies in communication about this "field" in any one of the several media. The journalist may choose to emphasize communication in regard to agricultural problems, home economics problems, or scientific developments. If he chooses to deal primarily with political and social problems, social science becomes the "technical field." This technical journalism conception of journalism as a mere juxtaposition of "knowledge of some field" and "journalism knowhow" is much more common than catalog statements about the importance of liberal education might lead one to believe. The journalism educator who consciously or subconsciously operates in this technical journalism context almost inevitably is pushed back to a routine factual reporting conception of journalism, for interpretation in a "technical field" is the prerogative of the expert in that field rather than of the journalist. If the journalist interprets, he does so not as a journalist but as an individual who "knows" that field in which he presumes to make an interpretation.

Journalism as a Social Science

The second conception of journalism is that it is an applied social science. Social and political problems, local, national, and international, are regarded as the major concerns of the present day, and the journalist who reports and interprets the developments to citizens and influences their point of view must be well grounded in the social sciences. Journalism in the technical fields of science, home economics, and agriculture is largely ignored or relegated to the care of other departments. Although these social science journalists speak of the importance of a liberal education, they display no great interest in literature, art, music, and philosophy. They may even discourage students from study in these fields which have no direct application to journalism. This conception appears to cultivate rapport between journalism and the social science disciplines, but it may also create some tensions.

There is danger, then, that the journalism educator taking an applied social science orientation may be prematurely encouraging students to apply the social sciences to the solution of problems. As one social scientist pointed out, most social scientists doubt that their disciplines, as yet, provide an adequate basis for planning for the future. A further difficulty with the social science orientation is that it has led to a superficial contact with introductory courses in the many social sciences, and a lack of sufficient depth to gain any understanding of the real nature of the discipline or of the tentativeness associated with concepts and generalizations covered in the introductory courses.

Journalism education which emphasizes the social sciences at the expense of the humanities and the sciences is in constant danger of regressing to the technical journalism level. There are at least two reasons for this. One is that the requirement of contact with all of the many social science disciplines places a premium on knowledge rather than on real understanding of broad concepts, principles, theory, and methods. Another is that the social sciences are no more significant than the humanities and the sciences in developing understanding of the nature of knowledge and of the quest for it.

The materials and the methods of the sciences and the humanities are as productive of attitudes and values as the social sciences. In a sense, social science encompasses all disciplines regarded as areas of human activities, but so, too, do the humanities and the sciences separately, if broadly conceived, encompass each other and the social sciences as well. The failure to grasp or to aim at this integrative ideal of liberal education may make of the social sciences a "technical" field.

Journalism as a Behavioral Science

The tendency to view journalism as a behavioral science seems to go a step beyond that of regarding journalism as a social science or applied social science. Behavior broadly construed involves anything that an organism does. This may include overt physical action or internal physiological and emotional processes involved in mental activity, whether explicit or implicit. The behavioral sciences include the social sciences, the biological sciences, and aspects of the physical sciences. Communication, which in its depth and its complexity differentiates man from other animals, more than any other characteristic has both covert and overt manifestations. Full understanding of communication processes in a single individual requires knowledge of physical, biological, and psychological sciences. But communication always involves more than one individual, and this brings in the social sciences. Increasingly, communication with others requires familiarity with and understanding of technical, scientific processes and equipment which compete in their complexity with man himself.

Quite apparently, communication is one of man's significant behaviors and study of it is a behavioral science. The task of understanding how an individual organizes his ideas, how these ideas become explicit in words and symbols, how these are communicated to others, and finally, how other people are influenced thereby clearly is a major challenge in the world today. Concern with the behavioral sciences and specifically with communications is evidence of a newer integrative approach to knowledge which is in contrast with most of the developments in the arts and sciences. The general tendency has been to split up knowledge into increasingly small compartments, each one of which has had increasingly great difficulty in explaining phenomena because of concentration on some small aspect of the total. The behavioral sciences, in their attempt to reassemble the significant material from the various sciences needed to understand human behavior, may lead to major reorganization of the contributory disciplines and to fundamental changes in the nature of undergraduate education. For some time to come, however, it may be expected that the most productive activity in the behavioral sciences will be at the graduate level. Much will have to be done in the way of basic research before unifying concepts and generalizations will emerge to replace those used now at the introductory level in the various disciplines. Ultimately, it is possible that the behavioral science or the communications concept may establish journalism as a discipline in its own right. Necessary and desirable as this development is, there is danger that individuals will become so engrossed in the essential nature of the communication process that their work has little direct relevance for the level at which the journalist operates.

Already there is some evidence, in schools which have taken on the communication emphasis, of lack of interest in and impatience with courses that have direct relevance to the practice of journalism. The problem which is developing is not unlike that which liberal education has faced for many years. The doctorate in any field such as English has no great relevance to the teaching of undergraduate courses in English in the university. Journalism education has long been concerned with acquiring complete respectability among its liberal arts brethren. It will be unfortunate if it does so by assuming their increasingly specialized orientation.

Journalism as One of the Liberal Arts

In the early days of journalism education, the courses were frequently offered in departments of English. This was seldom a congenial association. As courses expanded, more competent faculty members with journalistic experience were sought, and as journalism expanded to cover several specialties, new patterns of organization were inevitable. Designation as a school, whether within a college of liberal arts or as a separate unit essentially equivalent to a college, is usually deemed desirable. When journalism remains in the context of the liberal arts college (Arts, Letters and Science, or some alternative in the university) it is possible to regard journalism as a major more or less on a par with other departmental majors. Since journalism educators emphasize that journalism courses should total no more than 25 percent of the total undergraduate degree requirements, this is quite feasible. The desirability of this interpretation depends greatly on the nature of the journalism program, on the point of view and position of professors and deans, and on the accepted model of journalistic performance. A heavily "how-to-do-it" orientation in journalism would hardly be consistent with this interpretation. Professors in the disciplines of English, history, and philosophy often view journalism as so practically and vocationally oriented and generally forced into a style and level of writing hardly consonant with liberal arts designation. Professors in the social sciences who are concerned with many of the same problems as the journalist and who are often pressed to communicate with the general public tend to be more receptive. But the really significant question is whether journalism education gains by this interpretation. In a professional field, there must be some integration and some ultimate sense of unity in a program in reference to the service to be performed. In the liberal arts undergraduate program, majors, minors, and distribution requirements no longer have any significant relationship to the major unless the undergraduate himself deliberately seeks it. To claim that journalism is one of the liberal arts seems to afford no advantage; it does cause some dissension; and it may weaken the professional character of the program.

Relations Among the Several Conceptions of Journalism and Liberal Education

Liberal arts faculties generally prefer that any professional programs using arts and science offerings take this in the traditional form offered by the departments. Thus their teaching loads and course sizes are maintained, and quality (translated as irrelevant to anything practical) is maintained.

Alternatively, a number of broad gauge general education offerings may provide the breadth experience. It is difficult for a journalism faculty to relate either of these patterns to the work in journalism courses, for the courses change in emphasis from year to year and not all students take the same course.

Journalism students and professors often complain and with good reason about general education courses as being too superficial in coverage. The journalist who seeks to write with a depth of understanding needs to study in some depth the concepts or principles in relevant disciplines if he is to engage himself in writing from real understanding.

Theme or problem courses were so uncommon at the time of my survey of journalism education that I could not learn the reactions of students or faculty to them. There did exist courses which were organized on a similar basis and to which reactions were available. Thus a course on labor relations offered in economics was noted by several students and professors as especially appropriate.

In general, I should expect that such theme or problem courses would be more suited to liberal education characterization in terms of competencies and hence to journalism than the typical departmental offerings. As evidence I would submit that such journalism courses as History of Journalism, The Law of the Press, The Press and Society do have a significant liberal education impact simply because they are developed around a problem or theme which has significance for all educated persons.

There are at least four ways in which elements in liberal education have been injected into professional journalism courses. The first noted of these is a type of course which draws very heavily upon a liberal arts background, especially the social sciences in analyzing the role and interrelationship of journalism and communications in our society. Such courses are not unlike those social science courses which concentrate on a particular social institution or issue and develop an examination in depth of factors involved and of possible ways of dealing with problems which arise.

A second type of journalism offering which has strong liberal education elements in it draws heavily upon liberal arts background in dealing with problems and issues upon which a journalist may be expected to write. A course dealing with the Interpretation of Contemporary Affairs is an example. In drawing upon his previous work in the liberal arts and even doing further research on some issue in order to organize and synthesize all of the different points of view, the student is engaging in a very worthwhile educational task. The constant emphasis on writing and on expression found in such a course is in itself in accord with the best traditions of the liberal arts.

A third way in which elements of liberal education have come to characterize journalism courses is found in the increasing tendency to interpret journalism broadly as a behavioral science or as mass communication. Courses developing out of this point of view are increasingly utilizing concepts, principles, and research findings which mark this conception of journalism as a discipline in its own right.

Finally, the fourth way in which schools of journalism provide liberal arts experiences is found in the offering of courses which closely parallel, if they do not in fact duplicate, courses offered in the college of arts and sciences. Courses in journalistic writing and in short story writing may exemplify this. In the journalism schools visited, the professional faculty, in general, felt that the school should not develop its own courses unless there was a significant element in the approach which was ignored or rejected by the corresponding course in arts and sciences. Introductory courses in writing in the schools of journalism are of particular interest in this regard. Professors of English in English departments are seen by their journalism counterparts as more concerned with analyzing the writing of others or with talking about the principles of good writing than with insisting that the students improve in writing.

Journalism as Liberal Education

Whatever may be the developments at the graduate level in journalism education and whatever may be the effects of these developments ultimately on undergraduate courses, both in the liberal arts and in professional education, there will be a demand, for many years to come, for persons with only an A.B. or B.S. in journalism. While it may be asking overmuch of this degree, the ideal would be for the journalist to be a broadly educated, deeply understanding person who is also versed in the art of discussion intelligently what is going on in the world. He should be a person of responsibility and integrity and in addition he should know something about the special methods and arts of the various journalistic forms: newspapers, magazines, radio and television. Ideally, a liberal education degree should be required, but practically the demands for technical information and skills make this impossible unless salaries are made sufficiently higher to justify an extended period of education. In any case, there is nothing magical about four years of liberal arts study in college; a college program, at its best, can only begin a process which must, to be successful in leading to a liberal education, continue through the life of the individual.

There is no need to take the attitude that journalism requirements usurp the place of liberal arts courses. If the role of the journalist is regarded as that of trying to understand the many factors involved in a problem and to isolate the real issues underlying a particular event, this task may be seen as satisfying all of the requirements of an educational activity of liberal nature. The basic skills of journalism include careful observation, critical listening, interviewing, evaluation of statements and of evidence, research and writing. Accordingly, journalism courses should be so taught as to have a strong liberal content in the sense that they provoke a spirit of inquiry, relate knowledge from many fields, and encourage further research as needed to attain a depth of insight before attempting to interpret events. Accepting this view, the first qualification of the journalist is a general and liberal education. Beyond this, he must have an understanding of the relationship between press and society and some training in the technical and craft skills of the several mass media of communications. The latter element need not be viewed with restrained disgust as hardly appropriate to higher education any more than we so regard the geologist's hammer, the chemist's test tube, the musician's piano, or the artist's brush. The proper use of media as an aid to expression should be an art. The trade school and the college will always use some equipment in common and give some courses which are superficially the same. The distinction is that the tradesman unimaginatively performs relatively routine tasks at the behest of another person, whereas the artist sets his own goals and uses equipment to gain them. In so doing, he demonstrates initiative and assumes social responsibility.

This view of journalism regards it as a broad area of applied liberal arts aimed at helping liberally educated individuals to understand what is going on in the world about them and enabling them, in turn, to communicate this in an insightful way to other individuals. In this view the journalist is a broadly educated individual who becomes aware of many of the issues of his time, to the point where he personally feels that he must have a deeper insight into these and must communicate to others his convictions as to the necessity of attention to them.

The essential skills of journalism are liberating in that they develop the capability of observing the world and interpreting it, and they also, if effectively employed, liberate the audience by communication of ideas and thoughts which can lead to new insights and understanding.

This task is a tremendously difficult one. In a very real sense, it involves liberal education in the classic Greek pattern. It is a view of education which is often talked about, but which in practice is found only in relatively few of the smaller liberal arts colleges. Departments of the liberal arts and science colleges in large universities have become largely independent and little concerned with the impact of the liberal arts on the individual student in college or the individual citizen outside. Faced with large numbers of students and with a great deal of emphasis being placed on research and graduate study, most of the undergraduate instruction, even in advanced courses, is comprehended in reading, listening to lectures, and occasional class recitation. There are few experiences in which a student is forced to organize knowledge from a number of different fields, relate his own opinions and values to this, and produce a well-thought-out statement.

There is some point to the view that an individual really does not know his field well until he can begin to write and talk about it in such a way as to be understood by others. Following this line of thought, we come to the possibility that well-planned professional journalism courses provide the student with a kind of experience which, in many ways, is more nearly consonant with the aims of liberal education than what we, in fact, find in most liberal arts colleges. The combination of liberal arts and professional journalism can and should be a liberal education in a better sense than is found in many of our colleges of arts and science in large universities.

This conception of journalism education requires a journalism faculty which is truly educated rather than being, on one hand, professionally competent as practicing journalists or, on the other hand, the proud possessors of the doctorate primarily concerned with research. Such a faculty must hold that the technical aspect of journalism is not unimportant, but a means to an end--a means which at no time must receive such an important role in the curriculum as to obscure the end itself. The tendency of schools of journalism or of communications to proliferate into many specialties must be replaced by emphasis on a common core of experiences for all individuals. Long lists of possible careers in journalism (daily newspaper, community newspaper, magazine writing and editing, business and industrial journalism, newspaper business management, international communications, mass media in public opinion, journalism and communications research, public relations, advertising, radio and television journalism, journalism teaching and advising, publication supervision, pictorial journalism, and others ad infinitum) may be useful in suggesting opportunities to students; but it should be made clear that it is neither possible nor desirable to provide separate sequences or even a course for each of these specialties. A few broad specialties such as news writing and editing, radio and television, and advertising should provide adequate specialization at the undergraduate level, and there is sufficient common ground for these specialties that at least 50 percent of the professional requirements could be in common. As with every field of endeavor, its essential knowledge, concepts, skills, and methodology can be taught in a narrow parochial manner.

By concern with techniques, by offering an unnecessary array of courses dealing with every conceivable task of a journalist, by regarding liberal arts courses as providing knowledge, and by selecting therefrom the social sciences as most relevant to journalism, and by a generally inadequate conception of liberal education and of the possible relation of professional courses thereto, some journalism programs and educators have tended (perhaps unwittingly) to perpetuate a technical journalism conception which joins knowledge of a particular field with knowledge of journalism techniques. Programs based on this concept have only conjoined courses providing general knowledge with courses providing specific knowledge about journalism. The unrealized challenge of journalism is that of using the professional courses in journalism as the means for reintroducing into the educational experience a sequence of courses which will bind together the concepts, principles, and methods of the liberal arts and of journalism in such a manner as to justify the label of liberal education. Journalism education, both in the nature of the task and in the limited number of professional courses required, offers an unmatched opportunity to develop a new vision of professional education. Many schools of journalism seem to have had this vision; few have taken all the steps required to make the vision a reality.

A Paper Supporting Proposition #2: Non-verbal Communication

Though Words are the Basic Tools of the Journalist, It is Clear that Non-Verbal Communication has an Important Role to Play in Newspaper Journalism.

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That eternal optimist of the Fourth Estate, James Reston, has said this is the age of the journalist. In a literary sense, he might be right since truth has finally become so incredible as to seem an unlikely fiction. From the standpoint of the newspaper business Mr. Reston is surely presumptuous; he reached a far less sanguine judgment concerning newspaper journalism in an article in Foreign Affairs during 1966:

> Newspapers are no longer the first messengers of the spot news and television has deprived the newspaper of the great 'picture' story. As a result the modern newspaper is searching for a new role or should be, and that role lies in the field of thoughtful explanation....We are no longer in the transmitter business but in the education business. In fact, the mass communications of this country probably have more effect on the American mind than all the schools and universities combined, and the problem is that neither the officials who run the Government, nor the officials who run the newspapers, nor the radio and news programs have adjusted to that fact.

In the seven years since Mr. Reston made this observation, no revelation even then, many adjustments have been made. But the newspress has not as yet shed its role as transmitter and entered the education business while in terms of the visual presentation of news--for that is what concerns us in this essay--relatively little of significance has happened to convey to the public any "thoughtful explanation." Mr. Reston's New York Times is currently giving considerable space, particularly in its Sunday weekly review section to radically large visuals of the illustrative cartoon variety, some of them frequently taking almost a quarter of the Review's front page, and one can see experiments of considerable interest in Dow-Jones' weekly National Observer. But in the main the great daily press continues to roll with little visual variation beyond an occasional change in makeup, typography and photography display. Otherwise the visual is an ordinary news photograph and/or map, the latter frequently of postage stamp impact. Innovations in design to make newspapers more readable, cleaner and visually more interesting, are commendable but they have hardly constituted the thoroughgoing reorientation to visual communication that contemporary circumstances seem to demand.

In fact, to make the case more general, daily journalism seems to have changed very little over the last decade except for balancing a conservative syndicated columnist with a liberal, adding a travel or culture section on Sunday, changing the type, and using more national and international wire copy. Though even the least apocalyptic among us will admit that the world has gone through violent changes if not transformations, the news continues to lie on the page in traditional form and format like so many disembodied ghosts of the past.

What is the reason? From the standpoint of our subject there are perhaps two. First, is the failure fully to understand or believe Reston's argument that newspaper journalism is no longer in the transmittal business but the business of "thoughtful explanation....in the education business." And second no matter how much the newspaper has verbally adjusted to its new role in the last seven years, it has not visually adjusted much.

None of us needed Mr. Reston, of course, to tell us that the advent of television has realigned the relationship between and among the media. It has redefined not only the newspaper role but that of magazines, films, radio, etc. Television has absorbed from all these media forms and functions it can better execute: the documentary from film, the short comic and romantic story from magazines, drama from radio. From the newspaper television has stolen, as Reston argues, spot news, the headline story and the picture story. Behind those often cited and debated Roper statistics on news consumption lies a shift in the source of the pulbic's information diet: the quick report of the outline of what is happening in the news, the stark picture which conveys the emotional reality of the news, the headline service which along with the first paragraph reduces everything to quickly comprehensible array is now better performed, even if less conveniently, by television. With this change the news picture magazine disappears and the staple of daily journalism changes from spot news and encapsulated description to enterprise and interpretive reporting, depth articles and to quote Reston again columns of "thoughtful explanation."

The big urban press has been affected by more than television, of course. The role of purveyor of homely community information, anecdotes, tidbits, and newsnotes has for a major segment of the population been usurped by the suburban and community press, a press closer to its constituents and better able to relate to them at a personal level. At the community level many of the issues, problems and activities--some vital some merely divertissement--are better treated by the suburban press. But if anything it has been less equipped than the metro grants in visually creating that familiar suburban atmosphere of schools, little league, sanitary facilities, secondary roads, construction, local taxes--indeed the things that flood the consciousness of most people most of the time.

I tell you nothing new, then, when I say the traditional functions of big city dailies have been squeezed on two sides: by television in the area of spot news and stark pictures, by the suburban press in the area of proximate community concern.

However, the same forces that let to the rapid growth and dissemination of television and the emergence of the suburban community have created, I think, great opportunities for both metropolitan and suburban press. These opportunities require, often, both a new type of reporting and, more particular to our subject, a new style of news presentation.

In a capsule, national and international news--most of which is already known by the audience before settling down with the paper--must be dealt with by the newspaper or its wire services with a depth and interpretive understanding, a facility, acuity and knowledge that it never had to expend on spot news. Moreover, it must also treat those stories which are not spot news, which are not tied to events or personalities many of these are "trend" stories--those which guage subterranean, glacial shifts in the structure of the local, state, national and international community, which never make the news until they have dramatically broken through the cake of custom and the customary.

Obviously, the urban paper cannot surrender precious newshole to treat the educational problems of a single school district; it must treat those headaches shared throughout an entire region. It cannot be content with the sanitary problems of one suburb but the common air and water pollution, garbage and litter of a region. Happily there are matters of overaching cultural concerns of a region that do not limit us to the altogether depressing. But whatever the subject it involves the newspaper in stories of extreme complexity.

Then how does the challenge affect the newspaper in terms of visual communication? What do these changes portend for journalists and for the art of news presentation?

May I begin to answer with a rather obvious if not infallibly followed principle. The reporter's task has always been twofold: to gather the facts, then convey them to others in everyday language. This has always implied that he understood what he wrote. But the facts were quite simple in simpler days and any bright boy could pass them along to a rewrite man though he didn't know noun from verb, much less the long range significance of the facts he conveyed. In today's newspaper world, that fellow is already obsolete.

Already, many reporters are highly educated specialists. If one reports on law, his formal education often has been deep enough to earn a law degree even if he doesn't have one, which he probably will in the future. If medicine is his beat, a reporter must feel at home at a medical convention. Much of his day may be spent in poring over the journals and technical papers of his specialty; other hours in hob-nobbing with specialists and attending the conferences and scholarly assemblies. Nonetheless, the two-fold criteria is still required of him--he must gather and understand the facts, then convey them to others. And while gathering and understanding those facts demand that he learn the specialized language of those who practice the discipline to which he is assigned conveying these facts to others requires that he become an even more proficient master of the common tongue. In the language Tower of Babel that grows daily from disciplinary specialization, journalists therefore must become two translator kinds of specialist--one of them. Ezra Pound has noted, "Your legislator can't legislate for the public good, your commander can't command, your populace (if you be a democratic country) can't instruct its representatives, save by language."

As specializations continue to breed "languages" understood only by those within that discipline, good writers (or journalists) will be essential to keep the society from coming unstuck. The journalist, according to his specialty, must understand "socilogese," or "spacetalk," or medicine or even bureaucratic gobbledygook, and then be able to put it in terms that can be readily understood by the reasonably literate.

It is unlikely that this sort of training and the other sort tomorrow's journalist must have--training in an understanding of his increasingly complex technical tools and their impact upon culture--can be otained in a package outside the communications college today. Those of you who have bid farewell to the "journalism school" might be well advised to take a second look, then, to be sure instruction in good writing can be found in an English department. There must be individual courses offered here and there in other departments or colleges having to do with the relationships of the mass media and law, or art, the media and democratic theory, the media impact upon the popular culture, etc. But nowhere save in our better journalism colleges are such courses--essential, I think, to the good journalist's background--packaged and presented in a coherent, integrated way.

If the journalist must learn a new verbal language to cope with contemporary conditions, it is likewise true that he must learn a new visual language of presentation--a language that remains largely uninvented. And he must do so for two reasons. The first is prudential, in the main, namely that the nature of contemporary news and the demands of effective presentation require it. The second is one of opportunity: the contemporary newspaper offers opportunities in visual display that demand, in their own right, to be exploited.

Let us take them in turn.

The stories that are the basic material of the contemporary newspaper are, as we have observed, necessarily complex. They cannot be told in headline flashes nor through an inverted pyramid. Such stories have depth to them--in two directions. They have historic depth: that is, they derive from factors and events that lie deep in the past and their comprehension demands we know something of their genesis. Secondly, they have spatial depth: they cut across boundaries, geographic and socially, to implicate diverse regions and sectors of the society. If traditional news stories were atomistic--the newspaper consisted of a series of snapshots of events taken to be independent in space and time--contemporary stories reveal a world in which everything is interconnected. Every story ramifies out to implicate a wide world of inter-related phenomena.

In the telling such stories become so long and complicated that they create those oceans of type that often defy comprehension and, at the least, drive readers away. The good visual, thoughtfully produced, can not only break this monotony, but simplify the story, grasp its basic significance and draw the reader to know more of the specifics. The traditional photo, or miniscule map or cartoon do not fulfill this role. A newspaper visual should convey a message of its own. It should supplement the story, telling at least a part of it simply and quickly.

By example, I think of a not-too recent account, again in the Times review, concerning the rapid rise of prices. The excellent tell-a-story visual was an outline halftone of a typical couple pushing a supermarket basket which was bracketed by checkout tapes. Identical items were on each tape, the left one containing prices from some months back, the right one current costs. How item by item had dramatically gone up in price, and the difference in the checkout totals were ticked off on those dual tapes. It was a real story teller, while the accompanying type spelled out to the reader the economics behind this sudden upward surge of the market-basket.

Not everytime, of course, is a complex story so easily visualized, but the main reason, it seems to me, is that newspaper editors have given so little time and imagination to it--or perhaps because their publishers have been unwilling to support these ideas with sufficient money to finance them. Maps and formula stuff as visual fare will continue to be necessary and proper, but there is too much substituting such fare for imagination--and staff. This seems to me false economy in an era which has to admit that McLuhan lives, even if his preachments are not infallible.

A team of talented, well-informed visual communicators (perhaps we should use the less grating if more commercial term illustrator) should be on the staff of every metropolitan newspaper. They should know graphics, how to dream up innovative ways of graphing complex stories, be familiar with the technology, know photography, read widely--and be given the time to do so. Too many newspaper publishers seem to believe staffers are wasting company time reading and examining rival media, and some perhaps do. But TV sets are more frequently found in publishers' executive suites.

The central point is that today's newspaper illustrator should know the story, how and why it happened, and what it means no less than the reporter assigned to leg it down. This requires reading and study, watching TV even, and sometimes getting out of the office. When the time of performance comes, it requires close coordination between all producers of the story. Today's major news story of social significance is not unlike the production of a fine television documentary. It should not shy in its visual phases from the use of the very best of modern display advertising techniques.

Graphics, charts, overlays, even the old dotted-line, X-marks-the-spot early crime coverage by the tabloids should not be considered taboo if such a visual performs the basic function of which our colleague, Mr. Reston spoke: "thoughtful explanation....to educate...."

All of this involves a fundamentally different way of thinking of the relationship of words and images, of the reporter and illustrator. Rather than seeing the illustration as something added to the story, often as a pleasing afterthought, it must be thoroughly integrated with the story--from the planning of the story let alone its writing. The reporter, in turn, must no longer think in terms of words alone. The relevant question is: what combination of words and images, sentences and illustrations, does it require to tell the story.

The reporter must think, that is, of the visual as something which enhances, simplifies and clarifies the basic message of the story. The visual as something that continuously and systematically enhances the message value--the communication value--of the story must be the new point of departure. This requires that the reporter learn to think in terms of visual images, to suggest methods of visually enhancing a story. It also requires that the reporter and illustrator work at each step as an integrated team, artfully combining their separate talents, to convey the fundamental message and meaning of the story.

Reporters should not resist this invasion of modern devices of illustration; they should be a part of it. Journalism is being invaded by the stylistics of the arts because the problems that journalists have to write about are no longer adequately rendered by traditional conventions. The length and complexity of stories, as well as the sensitivity of modern audience to visual values, demand that the integration of the visual and verbal be a continuous part of the thinking of newspaper journalism.

Nor should the fact that such thinking bring the newspaper closer to the magazine be a deterrent to such a new orientation. In fact, the modern newpaper in terms of the depth of its coverage must become a daily magazine, as it often is already on Sunday. And consequently, the newspaper must come to value the often unconventional visual methods of many magazines if they are to stay in touch with the times: the events themselves and the sensibilities of their audiences.

For the person involved in journalism education, all the above has a special significance. For if newspapers are only now beginning to define the necessity for a new dimension in the visual arts, most journalism schools are not well equipped to do much about it. That is not meant as a criticism of journalism education because I have come to understand its problems better after nine years of the battle.

The main myth that one should early dispel about higher education is that it is--except in rare instances--the cutting edge carving out the new ideas of society. That it is one of its frequent arguments necessary to sustain it, but in the main it is the other way around, largely for budgetary reasons. Computers and laser are expensive, as most of you are in a better position than I to know. It is my observation that higher education remains more a supplier of hired hands than a think tank. This is particularly true in journalism for the simple and very plausible reason that the press is unapt to ask--or to want-- federal funding. While the physical, and even the social, sciences have been able in recent years to receive large sums of federal money, journalism schools have held back in proper fear of what one might call the Spiro Agnew syndrome although journalism has needed no less than some of these other disciplines dramatic increases in funding to remain abreast of swelling enrollments in journalism schools.

The technology of journalism has not been standing still. And when I say that I do not wish to reopen the anacrontistic sore of "green eyeshade versus Chi-square" of which, by the way, I had never so much as heard until

I joined the University. No one that I know of wishes journalism schools to import the modern equivalent of linotype machines and begin anew the trade school concept.

Expensive mechanical teaching aids are needed, however, and nowhere is it more needed than in the teaching of creativity in the graphic arts. One can no more innovate and produce in this area without modern equipment than he can tap out a lead without a typewriter or snap a shutter without a camera. The wheels of university bureaucracy grind exceedingly slow, however, and once the need for training graphic journalists becomes known, the average university will go through a few years of budget infighting, committee work and administrative and calendar approval before the necessary curriculum changes are made. By this time, and at the present rate of advance, technology will have moved far ahead while the university finds itself further strapped of funds gotten almost exclusively from a strapped State Legislature.

If it is true what Mr. Reston said--that "the mass communications of this country have more effect on the American mind than all the schools and universities combined," then someone at these schools and universities had best be about the business of making mass communications a positive ethical force, evidence of which has lately not been overly abundant in our society, excepting of course Watergate.

Newspapermen can become pretty pessimistic about this when reality suggests that more of the influence is going to be distributed by the tube than by the printed page. But unless those devoted to print are willing to surrender all to the headline service offered by broadcast, it would seem essential that the deeper, more thoughtful stories print is equipped to provide deserves not only visual support, but good visual support. Newspapers have to be sold on the means whereby a supply of creative graphic artists can be obtained, then lured to the newspaper business when far more lucrative opportunities now exist for the short supply of those capable.

In terms of curriculum the journalism school faces the same problem as the newspaper. It too must learn to think in a new way of the relationship between the visual and verbal. Rather than segregating out its courses in photography and graphics--the former to create the photojournalist or shutter bug; the latter to give the student a rudimentary knowledge of the production process--they must be integrated with work in reporting. This way the governing question in reporting courses can be: what combination of words and images creates the maximum of meaningful information? In this way the arbitrary separation of reporting from photography, illustration and production is healed and the beginning journalist can be induced to think in terms of multiple modes of presentation.

And let me add a final note on the serendipitous valve of emphasizing visual communication in the journalism curriculum. Journalists are typically prisoners of words--words written and spoken: the interview and the story.

The word is not such a bad thing to be prisoner of, but it does cut one off, as the work of Suzanne Langer has shown, from a wider world of significance. Perhaps an unexpected benefit from an emphasis on visual phenomena in the newspaper and curriculum will be to connect the journalist to those things to be learned from a sensitivity to designed and created space.

Certainly one of the useful contributions of the new journalism has been the emphasis on thinking in terms of "scenes." Such journalists have shown a sensitivity to how things look: how cities are designed--Tom Wolfe's superb essay on Las Vegas for example--buildings laid out, rooms arrayed and decorated, settings festooned. Such information is not visual decoration on a verbal cake. It has an independent message value. For one of the ways we can understand the special qualities of events, persons, organizations and problems is by attention to the meanings embodied in visual objects. Journalists are too often inattentive to meaning of a grid as a pattern of layout, the cage as the basic architectural design, the special meanings conveyed by the color, position and design of buildings, and the information embodied in clothing and gesture as evidence of character and purpose. It is said Walt Disney's Fantasia was ahead of its time. We need some Fantasia thinkers. Perhaps a new emphasis on visual communication will double back on the reporting process and lead the reporter's awareness to the more subtle ways humans express meanings; the way that is, character intention and meaning is revealed, often unconsciously, in designed, decorated and displayed space.

In the last half century, the art forms of visual free expression--sculpture, architecture, painting--have broken out of the molds of the past, the latter no doubt forced to do so by photography, which itself has dared to try things new.

Critics of these new forms are abundant enough and I confess to having been critical myself. But at least large segments of the public find them highly creative and reflective of the emotional overtones of contemporary life. Newspapers, to survive, must be similarly reflective of these rapidly changing overtones and lifestyles in what is--like it or not--a visually oriented age.

It has been stated that how this is to be done in the more or less static format of today's newspaper is a process uninvented. But this sort of invention is a pluralistic thing. I do not come before you as a futurist or a Thomas Edison and better ideas than my own, I feel quite sure, are in this room. Dare we convert a hope into a prediction and say that at least some of you have the will to try those ideas.

A Paper Supporting Proposition #14: Professionalism of the Press

The journalist must understand his profession and the broad and controversial changes in beliefs about the profession and how it relates to this society. Journalism departments should be concerned with teaching about the journalist's commitments to, and relations with, his fellow workers, his employers, and the public.

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Proposition #14

In the spring of 1970 I had two long interviews with Luigi Manzini, managing editor of Corriere della Sera of Milan, Italy's best-known daily. We ranged over many subjects -- the recruiting and training of staff members, the structure of the news-handling processes, news judgment, the problems of editorial costs.

"But is that all you want to talk to me about?" he said as I prepared to leave. "We haven't discussed the most important thing going on in European journalism."

I suppose I looked blank.

"This, Professor." He picked up a copy of the Paris daily Le Monde and waved it. "This!"

At that point I realized that he was referring to the phenomenon which has been called many things from "the democratic newsroom" to "reporter power." Le Monde was the first major paper to undergo a confrontation between ownership and news staff on other than conventional trade-union issues, and it has become a kind of short-hand symbol for what is actually a diffuse and irregular movement among newspapermen throughout the continent seeking more involvement at the top levels of decision-making.

It also is an over-arching symbol of restive journalists throughout the western world, who in a variety of ways seem to be moving toward some re-definitions -- of their role in the organizations for which they work, their role in the society of which they are citizens, even of what constitutes professionalsim and good journalism. The particular forms through which European activism has been expressed do not seem to be exportable to this country, but some of the ferment was; or, perhaps more accurately, the ferment was everywhere, but it took particularly visible form among the Europeans.

I believe that the problem of the restive newsman is a major element in the way the news business operates today, and that it will be of larger importance in the future. It is a condition with which journalism education is involved in complex and profound ways, and it may involve rude future surprises for media owners and managers who feel that if everybody will only remain good-humored and patient the mood will go away. It is a subject with which this meeting has to be concerned.

To begin, it might be useful to organize a modest catalog of the various expression of these changing attitudes.

The Movement in Europe

The *Le Monde* case to which Manzini referred and to which activists in European journalism point first saw the news staff of that distinguished journal organize to prevent the forced resignation of the editor, move on to more participation in all policy decisions, and eventually take over a considerable share of ownership. In the case of the German publication *Stern* editorial employees (assisted by university students who demonstrated in the streets) organized to prevent the sale of the journal to the Springer interests. In Italy the impulse took yet another form. Journalists in that country are licensed by the national government, covered by a single labor contract, and are members of a single national organization. The group which called itself the *movimento democratico* ran candidates in regional elections of officers in an attempt to take over the Federation (they lost).

The European movement has slowed somewhat in recent months. It seems probably that papers which were particularly vulnerable were caught in the first wave, and that what is left is a continuing ripple effect (for example, Italian dailies have so-called "newsroom committees" which meet occasionally with top management; in the past these have had purely a ritualistic role, but in several major papers they are now involved in policy matters, as we shall see a bit later). My own continuing interviews with European journalists leads me to believe that interest in the "reporter power" notion continues high.

The Politicization of U. S. Journalists

There is one profound difference between professional journalists in Europe and in this country which must be understood if we are to understand where the Europeans are in this affair and where we may very well be going. Almost without exception, European journalists are deeply political men, and proud of their political identity. For example, there is a law in several continental countries which requires a heavy indemnity be paid a newsman who feels he must resign because his paper has taken a political direction with which he cannot agree.

Contrast this with the old American tradition of the journalist as political eunuch. One of the most capable political reporters I have ever known not only refused to indicate his political beliefs in conversation, he even refused to register and vote. Even eminent syndicated writers about politics generally avoid any appearance of political commitment. One would be hard put to describe the party inclinations of Walter Lippmann during the last twenty years of this active career, or of James Reston at any point. A steadily increasing number of papers describe themselves as independent, and the number that endorse candidates is declining.

Many factors have gone into this, of course. An astonishing number of Americans still consider it somehow more noble to say "I'm an independent, I vote for the man." Add to that cultural stance the earnest concern with objectivity which deominated the news business for so long, and it is not surprising that traditionally journalists in this country have not seen themselves as political men, nor have they seen the papers for which they work as political instruments.

I use the word "political" in the broad sense here, referring to much more than party activities. The only social ends to which the traditional American newspaper has traditionally committed itself are consensus matters, the good things everybody agrees upon. A number of issues which are essentially political went uncovered for years (for example, decent coverage of the educational system did not come along until about 1950; urban poverty became news about fifteen years later). Party politics have been covered in detail, in part because they automatically suggest conflict, and conflict is the easiest definition of news, but traditionally with a kind of tortured attempt to maintain arm's length.

This whole attitude has begun to change. We could argue, I suppose, about whether American newspapers as such have become more politicized, more like their European counterparts. I feel that they have, particularly some which are generally identified as among the country's best. Not only are they covering with remarkable thoroughness issues which are non-party but clearly political (for example, civil discontent related to the Vietnam war; the civil rights revolution), but some are taking a more generally committed line throughout the paper. It is my feeling that three of the six papers which I see every day -- the New York Times, the Washington Post, and the Detroit Free Press -- have moved steadily over the past five years to a quite specific political flavor, demonstrated in news judgements, play, and headlines.

This impression is just that, a personal impression, but there's some evidence of a harder nature about the politicization of professional newsmen. Many of this group, I'm sure, have seen the first report from the study sponsored by the Academy for Educational Development, financed by the Markle Foundation, and carried out through the National Opinion Research Center.* The basic plot in that segment of the study was the division of a national sample of journalists into two groups -- one which the researchers call "neutral" (that is, those who feel strongly motivated to be objective, detached from the story, and highly responsive to the mechanical requirements of the news-handling process) and the other "participant" (those who attach more importance to a "more challenging" role for the media, with the journalist playing a "more active and, to some extent, creative part in the development of the newsworthy".)

I think this part of the study is flawed by some poor choices of indicators, but even with that limitation there is evidence in the findings that professionals who are younger, better educated, and work in highly urbanized settings (i.e., on bigger papers) are more likely to have "participant" values; those with less education, older, working on smaller papers tend to the "neutral" attitudes. The biggest single correlative factor is the amount of education (although, interestingly enough, whether or not it's journalism education does not seem to be very important in regard to such attitudes). The evidence, for what it's worth, tends to confirm that professional newsmen are moving away from the old super-caution about personal political-social commitment.

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*"The Professional Values of American Newsmen," Public Opinion Quarterly

The "Advocacy" Journalist

The word "advocacy" has come into our professional talk from no identifiable source and with generally unhappy results. To the fearful publisher or editor it sounds like a bumptious kid more interested in grinding axes than reporting the news; to some journalism students it sounds like a rather daring switch on the conventional news career; to some social engineering types it may suggest that a critically-needed new profession might rise from the ashes of an obsolete old one.

Attempts to define it are a waste of time. So is the contention that it's new. The thing that is important about the idea is the amount of attention now given to it. That increased awareness is symptomatic. The form, at least as I would define it, has been around for many years. Perhaps the most familiar continuing showcase is Time magazine. The founders of that publication never used the word, but from the beginning they intended it. Time, according to the in-house gospel, collects information and insights about an issue from as many sources as possible, makes a judgement, and then writes the story as persuasively as possible. They have been doing it for fifty years and, although they often have been disagreed with (and although they get a steady trickle of cancelled subscriptions from people who've just realized Time is "biased"), they seldom have been accused of irresponsibility or threatening the credibility of American media in general.

In addition to the commonplace that advocacy journalism always has been with us and always will be, it seems to me we can add two more observations:

Advocacy journalism tends to be a matter of issues rather than people. All of use are advocates on some issue or other. The good assignment editor knows this, of course; he knows what kind of story he will get from reporter X on a given matter, and may therefore decide to assign it to reporter Y instead. There is a tendency in newsrooms these days, I think, to look apprehensively at the incoming new boy (or girl) as a firebrand on any issue. That's rarely the case, but he or she may press hard for certain kinds of stories about which he has convictions. The problem is not that he's a new kind of journalist, but that he simply doesn't necessarily believe that news is what the city editor says it is.

The second observation about advocacy is closely related to the first, and those of you from the real world will forgive me if I'm a little blunt. If you feel that a reporter's work is too vigorously reflecting his social concerns, before giving up on him make certain that the problem really is his expressing his prejudices, not his failure to express yours. Learning to live with journalists who care a lot is an inevitable (and, I believe, healthy) part of the future.

The Journalism Reviews

Another clear sign of the growing politicization of the American newsman is the burgeoning of journalism reviews. Many elements have gone into the blooming of those hundred flowers in the wake of the fine Columbia Journalism Review. The ventilating of personal grudges has propelled many of them; it's a sorry way to go, not only because it's petty, but also because once the grudge is gone the motive for publishing diminishes. Obviously several have been founded on highly specific issues and died when the issue disappeared. Within the business there has been a tendency on the part of those who dislike the reviews (or the kind of colleague who helps put them out) to dismiss them as bitchy trivia.

But they clearly are much more than that; their meaningful content is essentially the examination of what a newspaper or a wire service is supposed to be, and how it has fallen short. The presentation is sometimes a bit hysterical and over-simplified by the human tendency to attribute all forms of sin to personal villainy, but the substance is that of the publication's responsibility to whatever constituency it serves. That is an expression of political involvement and growing sensitivity on the part of professional newsmen.

The Guild is Something Else

At first glance union membership, and particularly union leadership, would seem to be a clear sign of the politicized newsman. There has been some activity in the Newspaper Guild in the "reporter power" direction, but it seems to me that the most important concerns of any trade union take it on a course essentially tangential to the developing social concern which I am discussing here. Trade unions tend to stand or fall in terms of their success in economic issues, not social ones. If one lives in UAW territory, one gets bemused occasionally by the gulf between the political attitudes of the membership and the leadership. What do all those George Wallace voters -- he carried Michigan in the Democratic primary in 1972, you'll remember -- have in common with a leadership of brilliant activists still committed to the social vision of Walter Reuther? The answer is simple: an overwhelming mutual interest in obtaining high salaries and better working conditions. About more abstract matters they can agree to disagree.

To put it another way, loyalty to a union is built upon getting individual personal benefits; it is at bottom an institution based upon members looking inward. The kind of growing political sensitivity that seems to me demonstrable in the profession is based upon looking outward at the way the society works, on a concern about others as well as about oneself. Such language makes the latter sound more noble, but it is not; the two directions are simply different.

The Revolt Against the Newsroom

Another major factor making journalism into a restive profession, however, is intensely personal and inward-looking. It grows out of the structure and mechanics of the newsroom, the essential dynamics of the newsman's job.

If we take a quick look backward at how the beginner starts getting into the system we can more easily understand why it eventually produces discontent -- most often, ironically, in the best people. There is a sentimental anecdote in

Talese's book on the New York Times about the first day in the newsroom for a new employee named A. M. Rosenthal. He sits smitten with insecurity in front of the typewriter. Finally Mike Berger comes by and gently asks him if he knows where to get copy paper. He doesn't; Berger shows him. He then shows him how to slug the story and number the pages and where to put his name. He then wishes him well and goes away. End of orientation and explanation.

Most working newspapermen in this country got an introduction something like that. In such a situation the journalism graduate knows a good deal more, but he still feels lost because now he is in a very real, specific newsroom. The most pressing concern of the neophyte, whatever his preparation, is to learn the system and the structure.

It is a very complex and difficult system, and an ideal learning situation from the point of view of some psychologists; things learned by doing, through divination and repetition, stick far better than any learned more abstractly. The new staff member learns where authority is and how it operates (and the limits upon questioning it). He learns about writing by what happens to his copy. He learns about policy when he produces something that conflicts with it. He learns, above all, that he is part of a system in which predictability is the greatest virtue; his judgemental processes get hammered into the consensus which is required to get the job done.

It takes time and effort to master all this, and when the sense of mastery takes hold it is pretty heady business. He is now a pro, an insider, and his considerable sophistication is something he acquired for himself. (At this stage journalism graduates invariably announce that they learned absolutely nothing useful in their journalism courses.) As he settles into the routine, he becomes a classic bureaucrat -- in the sociological, not invidious, sense of the word. The newsroom is an excellent demonstration of Robert Merton's intellectual bureaucracy, even sometimes reflecting his most devastating generalization, that content and substance become subordinate to the efficient functioning of the system (the New York Times instructed its foreign correspondents that a routine story that arrives at five p.m. is a lot more likely to make the paper than a good one that arrives at nine).

There is one thing badly askew about the newsman as a member of a complex bureaucratic institution, however: the better he is, the sooner he will become impatient with the confinement of the system. There are several ironies inherent in the mass communications professions. The most dramatic one, probably, is that of the highly successful ad man. To be great in the creative branches of advertising, you have to be too sensitive and smart to be in the business at all. Some of the finest talents I've ever known have been preoccupied for years with the question of whether their brand of cornflakes will outsell somebody else's. There must be some relationship between the surpluses of booze, coronaries, and broken marriages on Madison Avenue and that tortuous choking down of the range of intellectual vision which the job requires.

The newsman is not so often faced with the feeling that he may be spending his talent on a kind of monstrous triviality, but he does feel, I'm convinced, that the system rarely asks his best of him. Everything about its operations underlines the fact that the dominant concern is a relatively standardized product, and it takes very little reflection to move from that observation to the realization that there are thousands of others who, once their reflexes are conditioned, can do the job as well as he. What little data we have on movement out of the profession shows that many leave during the first five years. These are the people who cannot cope with the superficialities of the system -- with what we might call newsroom behavior. Much more damaging, I believe, are the people who after fifteen or twenty years realize that they can no longer endure its foundations.

As a journalism administrator, the most devastating mail I received was made up of three or four letters in which star alumni -- those in the most high-status positions, the ones whose names and situations I dropped so casually in conversation with distinguished visitors and fellow administrators -- announced that they'd had it in this business. Not in their particular job; in the business. One was an assistant editor on one of the country's biggest and best papers, another the second man in a highly-regarded Washington bureau. Each wrote me a letter or two indicating some dissatisfaction with their jobs. Each (at different times, of course) wrote a letter asking about the possibilities of teaching journalism, a line of inquiry that disappeared as soon as the size of pay cut they'd have to take became apparent. Both then found other jobs, one in a public relations firm which specializes in good causes and small fees, the other in public broadcasting.

Each of these men was proud of the newspaper for which he worked and got along well with his superiors. Neither had personal problems; neither had been by-passed by somebody else's promotion (they clearly were on their way up). In our later conversations it became clear to me, at least, that they had a similar source of discontent. They felt captive. They felt that their opinions and, indeed, their personalities were irrelevant to their work and that if these unique qualities were too visible the work would suffer.

A variation of those sentiments, it seems to me, ran through the article which a fine reporter named Kent MacDougall wrote for MORE upon the occasion of his suddenly quitting the Wall Street Journal. It was a curious article indeed. MORE, in the obligatory spirit of breathlessness found in some reviews, billed it as a great expose of the sordid life at Dow Jones. It wasn't. The more carefully you read it, the more Dow Jones sounded like a good place to work. What MacDougall was really saying was that he was fed up with the news business, even as a star with a good deal of freedom and a good paycheck. He was fed up, as I interpret it, with the fact that he had no involvement in the essential character of the Wall Street Journal. (The best papers, because they attract good people, are particularly vulnerable in this respect).

Well, then: we have an upcoming generation of professional journalists who are seeking more sense of personal fulfillment in the job, who are more politicized than their predecessors and likely to be more hard-headed about wanting to use their profession to bring about social change. We have a rebellion against the news system as it is structured and organized today -- and European colleagues who are demanding and sometimes getting roles which have always been management's. We have a mid-career malaise that sees a small but steady exit from the profession of some of its best people. We have a profession -- and I apologize for the instant cliché -- in ferment, at least among the best practitioners.

My assignment here is to discuss how journalism education should handle these things. Before concluding with that, it is impossible to resist making some completely gratuitous recommendations to the industry.

Some Unsolicited Recommendations for the Industry

I have never been a newspaper publisher, and I never hope to be one. There may seem to be a certain innocence in the following remarks, therefore; but it seems to me that there are several obvious steps which management can take to help build better papers through better utilization of the intelligence and commitment of the superior professional journalist.

The first of these is so old that one is embarrassed to bring it up, but not half so embarrassed as some of the money men in this business should be. Many journalism educators feel that the old problems of outrageously low salaries have been pretty well settled by an industry-wide wave of generosity during the last decade. We've judged this by the starting salaries of our graduates and, of course, by what we read about contracts in Washington and New York. I've had occasion to look at salaries in a variety of other settings in the last few months, however, and have seen some shocking things. There was, in 1972, a wire service bureau chief in a city of 400,00 on the East coast who made less than $10,000 a year. There was in the same year an assistant city editor on a substantial daily on the West coast who made less than $11,000. And there was a full-time reporter whose beat was the arts on a middle-sized afternoon paper in the deep South who made less than $7500. There must be thousands of others like these poor devils. For an industry which currently is one of the most profitable in the United States, in which editorial salaries generally run less than 15% of total costs, this is outrageous. Money is not the chief motivation of the professional newsman -- but underpaying him is likely to make it so.

The second rather obvious suggestion is to take whatever steps are possible to break up processes which have become grindingly routine. I suspect that the beat reporter system has served both the individual newsman and his paper rather badly. Either the reporter gets bored and careless, or he gets so involved that he becomes a spokesman; most of us know at least one old police reporter who really is a surrogate cop , complete with a .38 in a shoulder holster and an honorary deputy's badge. And it is probably a safe prediction that some of the new urban problems specialists will become surrogate social workers.

Many U. S. newspapers, including perhaps most of those represented in this meeting, are moving toward the team approach on major continuing stories. This is no place to try to assess that device, but there are conspicuous advantages. It does much to break up routine and keep up interest. The well-balanced team tends to cushion the impulse for mindless advocacy. Some editors feel that a well-built team includes desk men as well as reporters, which provides a chance to provide new perspective for the critically important professional who in many shops is saddled with the most deadening of intellectual chores.

It is not likely that major structural changes in the newshandling system can be made so long as the U. S. newspaper is spot-news, hard-news oriented (and I presume most of us want it to continue to be just that), but the whole operation does need regular examination in search of change which might put more of the human element in and leave out some of the assembly line.

Third, there must be explorations of ways to give the staff a sense of involvement in policy-making. Only this, I'm convinced, can solve the problem of the bright but restive young professional. He simply has to have a bigger stake in his work than his paycheck.

Most of us who are professional writers simmer inwardly when asked to serve as publicity chairman for good-hearted enterprises such as the PTA or the United Fund Drive or the AAUP. It's not just that one resents giving away services for which one normally gets paid; it's the implication that you really have no other contribution to make than putting into facile sentences the thoughts of others, rough-hewn but infinitely deeper than one's own. "Look," one wants to shout, taking the group by its collective necktie, "I'm not just a writer, I'm a thinker!" The same line must have occurred millions of times to reporters, particularly in the presence of editors devoted to the adventures of Brenda Starr and Poteet Canyon.

It is that kind of involvement that the "reporter power" movement in Europe is all about. Discussions of this phenomenon in this country often are irrelevant and misleading; they bog down with the editor or publisher hooting "how can a committee decide what's news?"

A committee can't replace a telegraph editor or a city editor, of course, nor have any of the European papers with heavy staff policy involvement even considered it. I should like to set out what seem to me some of the areas where the professional may exercise a useful and rewarding role in major decisions:

1. Choosing administrative personnel. This, the right to have something to say about who were to be the bosses, was the central issue in the pioneer Le Monde case, and it has come up repeatedly since in other settings. This is an area in which, it is my impression, newspaper management in this country is highly arbitrary.

2. General directions and dimensions of news coverage. The question of the matters to which the paper's continuing attention should be addressed should be discussed systematically with staff members. This is in the self-interest of publication. Although it is far from certain that cityside reporters would have been, without the help of Michael Harrington, any quicker to recognize that there was poverty in America than their bosses, organized consultation with them will reduce the change of neglecting important elements in the community's dynamics.

3. Formulation of editorial page stands. To say that the staff should have a determining role in editorial positions on particular issues would strike all but a few firebrands as a bit much. Most sensible people would not deny the owner-publisher's prerogative, if he insists on it, to say "this newspaper believes this", even though a majority of the people who put it out might believe just the opposite. But somewhere in the gulf between editorial stance determined by a vote of the troops and the dismaying business of a major daily refusing to sell advertising space to a group of their own reporters who disagreed with a candidate endorsement there is room for discussion and mutual illumination.

There are several ways of setting up the mechanics of this kind of staff participation in major policy matters. There is much that is wrong with journalism in Italy, but one of the few virtues of the system is the comitato di redazione (newsroom, or staff, committee) mentioned earlier. This consists of elected representatives of the news staff and is generally quite small, with seven to nine members. In the papers which make full use of the system, a representative or two of the comitato sits in on almost all top management decisions.

I have no intention of making one swallow into a summer, but there is something significant, perhaps, in the experience of Corriere della Sera. That venerable vessel had been for so long aware of its eminence, its genuine role in Italian history, its prestige in, as the saying goes, the chancellories of Europe that it failed to note the mossy encrustations which were about to sink it. As late as 1971 it was the finest 19th century newspaper on the continent.

It has been greatly transformed in the last two years. It is tighter, sharper, less fustian. It is much closer to the spirit of the people of Milan (its owners traditionally have had a paternalistic concern with the city, and one of the beginning points of the revolution in the paper was their horror when not only political demonstrators but ordinary workers started throwing stones at the delivery trucks). It has clearly moved its editorial perspective toward the left, it is doing a much better job of covering the city, and its circulation has risen sharply. A strong comitato di redazione has been given much of the credit.

Whatever form such an organization takes, it is important that it have formal role and function in a formal way. To grouse about committee meetings is every man's birthright, but we nevertheless associate power with institutionalization. Informal consultation, however thorough, is not the same thing. What we are talking about here cannot be summed up as better employee relations. The perception of a changed structure must be clear. The able staff member whose commitment to the paper is gradually draining away because he feels he has no real part in it will not be turned around by an occasional friendly chat with an executive.

The Role of Journalism Education

It is all very well for a middle-aged professor to blithely recommend to publishers and editors that they contemplate major alterations in the way they do things; it is something infinitely more sensitive when he starts contemplating the difficulties that a parallel initiative can have within his own keep.

Journalism educators tend to try to avoid that which will offend the owners and managers and professionals of the mass communications industries. This is not only a normal human reluctance to avoid hassles; it has at least a touch of altruism in it. One branch of our activity, and most of us still think it the most important branch, is the training of new professionals for the field. They have to have jobs. If a potential employer thinks heresy is being taught in a school or department of journalism, he'll view every candidate with that degree as a potential trouble-maker.

Perhaps it is in part for this reason that journalism has concentrated so much on teaching the mechanics of the news professions and has taught so little about the profession and professionalism. It is, I suspect, our most consistent continuing area of neglect. I know of no journalism programs, although there may be some, which deal systematically and formally with the questions of adjustment to the job, relationships with fellow professionals, trade unionism, and related concerns. The student who asks for advice about the Guild may get an answer delivered with a kind of self-conscious bluff honesty, rather like a father speaking frankly about sex. He'll also get large doses of such things as ethics and responsibility. The mastery of these is indeed a key part of becoming genuinely professional, but they are aspects of the system, and not at all the same thing as the journalist's understanding of his place as an individual in it.

The objective of the professional training programs in departments and schools of journalism can be stated simply: to produce the best possible journalist. There are several elements that go into the definition of the word "best", and it seems to me that we in universities attack these with varying intensity and levels of success.

Most obvious (and many would feel most important) is proficiency in craft skills: knowing how to get and write the story, edit copy, work out a headline that counts. We give that teaching job much attention and do it relatively well (a judgement with which, I'm sure, some of this group would quarrel).

There is a second element which we almost never approach directly and consciously, but which at least one approach to teaching basic skills can convey. Permit me a this-is-how-we-do-it-in-our-shop anecdote. The professional program at Michigan is at the graduate level. There are no undergraduate requirements, and most of our small group of candidates come from such fields as history, political science, and English. Like some other graduate programs, we teach the basic skills in a concentrated single course which runs all day five days a week. In format it is roughly a synthetic newsroom.

In mid-term last fall one of the new students who looked great on paper -- an honors B. A. in history -- came to tell me that he was dropping out of the program.

"I like the poeple, and I'm sure it's a good program," he said. "But I've learned one thing above all else. The news business isn't for me."

He had come to the understanding, in other words, that he was headed into a highly-disciplined, intricately structured calling which constantly demands efficient working with others and continuing attention to routine, if not trivial, detail. We can give the student something like the feel of the job; if he responds well to it, he is that much better prepared when he goes to work. If he dislikes it, he can get out before his own commitment (and an employer's) is too expensive in time, money, or emotion.

It's probably not terribly important that we teach this. A good summer job on a paper can do the same thing for him.

But it is terribly important that journalism education start doing something it now does rarely, which is to encourage him to seek out and work for the things which will permit the fullest possible utilization of his abilities in full career. This means we have to help examine carefully the new trends in the profession, the organized ways in which other journalists are seeking a more profound role in operation of their papers and through this a more significant role in society. There should be careful analysis in journalism classrooms of the obligations and perquisites of every role in getting out the paper (or the news broadcast). There should be reading and evaluation of journalism reviews. There should be continued probing for better ways of getting more engagement of the whole man. That implies that his deeper involvement will produce better journalism. I believe it will, because his view of the profession will be more realistic and his understanding of inevitable problems as he develops as a professional at least somewhat advanced.

We -- all of us, academics and newsmen and publishers alike -- can no longer try to upgrade American journalism, to attract to it the best possible minds, without making changes in the way we teach and the way we put out newspapers. To say that is, perhaps, a little inflammatory (perhaps I should point out that I am no longer the chairman of the Department at Michigan and in no way speak for it; I just work there.) There is no way to keep some people who are now in responsible positions in the media from concluding that such education will breed mavericks who are just too damn much trouble to whip into shape.

For these, there is an easy way to avoid the entire matter. The most chilling remark about journalism in this country I ever heard was attributed by a friend to an executive of one of the major newspaper chains, who supposedly said to him over a drink "look, prof, all we need is a continuing supply of dependable mediocrity." Since I heard it third-hand and also over a drink, I prefer to attribute the whole appalling thing to fumes.

But it always has been easy to find the dependably mediocre, and it will be far easier in the future. Journalism enrollments are the highest in history and still pushing upward -- while the number of job openings begins to shrink. A buyer's market will exist for years. It will be easier than ever to find placid mechanics. The only cost involved may be the increasing isolation of the American press from what's really vital in the society, accompanied by increasing numbers of readers who decide they don't need newspapers at all.

Most publishers, of course, have too much vision to let this happen. They do, don't they?

A Paper Supporting Proposition #6: The Journalist's Body of Knowledge

Journalism has a body of knowledge with which every journalist needs to be familiar.

Prepared by

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For

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It is said of Louis Agassiz, the 19th century Harvard scientist, that he began his course in the new science of evolution with a piece of chalk. The purpose of the course, he would tell his students, was to spell out the chalk's life history, and the life history of the forces that helped shape it. Then, by a train of intellectual connections, Agassiz would take the student from the finite history of a piece of chalk to the infinite history, and mystery, of a universe in the constant flux of evolutionary creation and destruction.

Henry James summed up the process in another way. "Really, universally," he wrote, "relations stop nowhere," and Marc Bloch, the French historian, wrote of the knowledge of human affairs, "The variety of historical evidence is nearly infinite."

"Everything that man says or writes," Bloch continued, "everything that he makes, everything he touches, can and ought to teach us about him."

The journalist finds himself in the same position as the scientist, the artist, and the historian: his body of knowledge is potentially infinite, and like Agassiz, James, or Bloch, he attempts to set guideposts in the flux, to indicate with humility and pride that this much of the infinity is known.

The difficulty of circumscribing the journalist's body of knowledge can be illustrated in another way, by comparison with the traditional professions, such as medicine, the military, or law.

To understand the doctor's, soldier's, or lawyer's body of knowledge, we must first bear in mind what their goals are. The doctor seeks good health, the soldier victory, the lawyer justice. The goals of these traditional professions are thus essentially social, their norms and their successes are defined by the demands of the society around them and the internalized values and norms of the profession. The doctor, soldier or lawyer, to be sure, is faced by the brute imperatives of nature -- by the chemistry of digestion, the flight path of the arrow, the tempting portability of private property -- but their task is to manipulate these imperatives.

They shape the consequences. The journalist, on the other hand, takes the consequences.

The journalist follows where the path leads. He must not, or at least should not, alter what he finds, save for the subtle alterations that the very act of knowing implies. Despite his daily immersion in social imperatives, the journalist's goal and role are ultimately not defined by social norms. They are defined and judged simply by the criterion of truth -- "fidelity to reality...theoretical simplicity, explanatory power, conceptual elegance, and logical coherence."

After acknowledging all that must be acknowledged about the social role of truth, about the knotty epistemological problems that challenge the very concept of "objectivity," we must also acknowledge that the journalist -- like the historian -- is primarily seeking truth, and not, like the traditional professional, a social good. It is the journalist's faith that social good will and can only flow from truth, not from falsehood. Thus, to the old question of whether journalism is a profession or a craft, a high calling or a low vocation, we must simply answer that it is an intellectual pursuit, and its body of knowledge is ever changing, ever expanding.

Yet, while the journalist's body of knowledge is potentially infinite, history suggests that one area of knowledge and investigation is particularly appropriate to him -- daily occurrences and how they affect his audience. It is this area from which the periodical press in the English-speaking world sprang, thanks to the growth of an audience of persons from the middling ground of life who through economic self-interest, political necessity, social concerns, and intellectual curiosity had developed an interest in contemporary events, an interest that was denied their peasant forebearers.

In 1751 Samuel Johnson, the patron saint of journalism, wrote: "these papers of the day, the ephemerae of learning, have uses more adequate for the purposes of common life than more pompous and durable volumes." Johnson goes on to detail some of the things about common life which the reader cares to know, providing a virtual index to the modern newspaper and guideposts toward the journalist's body of knowledge.

"If it is necessary for every man to be more acquainted with his contemporaries than with past generations, and rather to know the events which may immediately affect his fortune or quiet rather than revolutions of ancient kingdoms in which he has neither possessions nor expectations; if it be pleasing to hear of the preferment and disimission of statesmen, the birth of heirs, and the marriage of beauties, the humble author of journals and gazettes must be considered as a liberal dispenser of beneficial knowledge."

It is an argument that Johnson returns to again and again, that "no man can imagine the course of his own life or the conduct of the world around him unworthy his attention," that "he must be therefore sometimes awakened and recalled to the general condition of mankind," and, in a noble passage from A Journey to the Western Islands, that "the true state of every nation is the state of common life."

The essential body of knowledge, therefore, that a journalist must have and continually be trained to replenish, is a knowledge of daily life and how contemporary events shape that life for members of his audience. His essential skill is the ability to gather and to communicate that knowledge where daily life is lived, in the streets, villages, shops, farms, and cities.

One further difficulty in describing the journalist's body of knowledge remains to be mentioned before our detailed discussion begins. It is facile, but false, to split up that body by saying that here was one area of raw material, "potential news," and here was another technique, and still a third of technical and professional background about the news business. Such a division is intellectually possible, and will seem to be implied in what appears below, but misses the actual interpenetration of the areas with each other. This interpenetration is a basic assumption of this paper.

- II -

Four areas of knowledge stand out as central to journalism: (1) historical scholarship; (2) the technique and models of relevance of the social and behavioral scientist (we shall, for the sake of brevity mean both when we later write "social science"); (3) the nature and social, political and economic conditions of communication, particularly communication of "news," and (4) communication skills. The omission of other areas does not mean to imply that they are unimportant. We are only suggesting that a journalism education is a curriculum, not a university.

(1) Historical and Biographic Studies

A journalist might define history as "Mankind calling for the clips." The historian's minimal task is the same as the journalist's -- checking the background and getting the record straight. At this level, history plays a part in the journalist's body of knowledge in at least two ways.

First, it can provide indispensable background. Just what background an aspiring journalist should have, how much history he should know and of what, varies with time and place, but that he should have the benefit of the historian's sense about the areas and problems he will report on is indisputable.

In general, for journalism curricula in United States universities in the 1970's, the historical component of the journalist's body of knowledge might be drawn from American history, particularly since the Civil War and growth of urbanization; appropriate regional history; and courses in modern history that focus on the origin and development of master ideas and movements that remain at the cutting edge of events -- the history of industrialization and technology, Marxism, the spread of literacy, and so forth. Such courses should be taken in the history department, with important exceptions when the journalism department had identified an unmet need it thinks of significance to its students, and creates a course.

However, while what the historian knows is important to the journalist, of equal importance to the journalist's body on knowledge is how the historian knows. Any history should be doing double service as a course. It should acquaint the journalism student with specific subject matter and it should train him to understand the common methodological problems he shares with the historian -- how evidence is gathered and how it is evaluated for relevance and validity. The historian's bibliographic skills, for instance, his ability to recover information, are a crucial part of his craft and that of the journalist.

Behind their common methodological problems, however, the journalist and the historian share a common philosophic problem. The question "What is history?" parallels the question "What is news?", not only because the historian and the journalist use similar methods of establishing relevance and validity, but because both should be asking "Relevant to what?" They should be concerned with the philosophic question of why they chose to tell a particular story in a particular way. What suppositions and perceptions about social reality underlie their work?

The philosophic questions should not be dismissed offhand as too intellectualized, for to dismiss them as most newspapermen and many historians do, is to make a choice. The daily practitioners often decide uncritically and unreflectively that an event is news because it has been officially recorded. It is significant, they decide, because someone with sufficient money and interest has enscribed it on the records, or put out a press release. What emerges in the newspaper, and the standard historical work, is what might be called "the official reality," a world ordered by press releases, news conferences, public documents. It is a world that parallels that of classical narrative history, with its succession of treaties, battles, coups d'etat and bedroom anecdotes about monarchs and their mistresses.

A journalist should understand what it is he is choosing when he chooses "official reality", and through the study of other kinds of histories than straight narrative, should become aware of other kinds of choices. A journalism department, therefore, should guide its students towards courses that expose them to such historians as E.J. Hobsbawm, Christopher Hill, Marc Bloch, Lawrence Stone, and Richard Cobb, men who wrote social history by using unconventional evidence; from geography, medicine, anthropology, and other disciplines or by using conventional evidence imaginatively.

A student of Cobb's work on France will learn, for instance, that a police record tells not only who was arrested and why, but also reveals something about social mobility, patterns of unemployment, and what the poor do with their spare time.

As newspapers turn more and more to what might be called "style of life reporting," the value of social history as part of the journalist's body of knowledge will become more apparent.

The study of history to the journalist, moreover, is the study of the art of question-asking in perhaps its highest form. A great historian, whether she be C.V. Wedgewood examining court documents, or E.J.

Hobsbawm trying to reconstruct a food riot from a variety of unconventional evidence, is a master of question-asking, of addressing the evidence in such a way as to unlock its exterior and get below the surface. Here are models to emulate.

In many institutions these basic insights may not be available either in a course offered by the history department or a philosophy of history course offered by the philosophy department. But the imperative remains that the journalism department has a responsibility to ask its students to inquire "What is news?" and to do this intelligently; it has a responsibility to ask its students to ask "What is history?" The department of journalism, in this respect, as in many others, might well find itself making the closest approximation to the classic demands of liberal education of any department in the modern, multi-purpose university.

(2) Social Sciences

The need to learn and use the research tools of the social sciences, not only in the study of communication, but more importantly, in the reportorial task is the subject of an earlier paper. It is unlikely that the other departments of the university can, or are willing, to construct a course that puts an interdisciplinary range of social research techniques into the hands of the student journalist.

We have here another example of how a journalism department might take the most liberal approach to education of any department of the university. The classic burden of liberal education, integrating knowledge and bringing its tools to bear on the life situation of the student, falls to the journalism department.

Another portion of the journalist's body of knowledge drawn largely from the social sciences -- and history -- is amply covered in the proposition on the study of urban life.

Another specific social science should be mentioned and stressed because it has been relatively ignored and is of central importance in the body of knowledge of most journalists. This is jurisprudence.

We are referring not to courses in press and broadcasting law, which are a relatively uncomplicated part of the journalist's curriculum. We mean rather courses, or a course, that achieve at least two goals: (1) demystifying legal procedures so that a journalist can write intelligibly, in layman's terms, when his story involves court or legal proceedings, and (2) examining the underlying assumptions about the nature of the political order and of man that are embodied in any legal system.

Indeed, so much of the journalist's daily work is so clearly associated with the law and an understanding of the law itself so readily leads back toward other social problems, that jurisprudence has a right to demand nearly an obligatory place in the journalism curriculum.

It remains for us to stress a basic understanding of what the social sciences are, if only to avoid the all-too-recurrent error of the journalist of beguiling himself into the belief that use of highly specific, highly limited research techniques answers questions the techniques are not designed to answer.

The social and behavioral scientists themselves seem prone to fall into this same error. Recent years, for instance, have seen a rush of books that attempt to apply research about the behavior of rodents or of primates in mazes and jungles to the behavior of men and women in parliaments and battlefields. Another example has been the use of research into reading skills or learning levels not simply as data for understanding, but as instruments of social policy. An aptitude at administering and evaluating IQ tests is too casually translated into a mandate for or against bussing school children without regard to social and political considerations that cannot possibly be measured by test scores.

Introductory courses in the particular social sciences, moreover, often fail to examine the assumptions about society and human knowledge from which the disciplines operate, or to establish the wider context in which the discipline relates to the entire field of social investigation and understanding. Too frequently they are designed to create students for advanced courses, not as dispassionate critiques of their own models of understanding.

We are not, we hope, indulging an anti-social science bias when we stress the limits of social science. It is precisely because particular social sciences are not universal, because, beginning at least with Adam Smith, they do not attempt general explanations of all social phenomena, but adopt self-conscious limits, that they can lay claim to being scientific.

It is notable that those social models of explanation that aspire to universality, those which claim to literally explain everything, such as Marxism or Freudianism, are essentially anti-individualistic. They explain everything by reducing everything to a grammar of their own.

In the social sciences, as in history, therefore, the core of the journalist's body of knowledge is the understanding of "how." The journalist needs to understand how the social sciences provide powerful, but partial models to explain social experience.

Again, a word of caution -- the journalist is a humanist and an explainer, not a scientist. His approach to the social sciences should be that they provide data and modes of understanding. But his obligation to his reader is to interpret and represent in lay terms, not to adopt a specialized position. He should avoid the delusion that what has been measured has been understood.

(3) Communication

By the study of communications we mean the study of the specific environment in which the journalist works and which he must understand and control to survive. It is a study that ranges from a theoretical grasp of the nature of humman communication, to the role of mass communication, in attitude formation, reinforcement, and change, to a basic awareness of what information costs and what it costs to disseminate it.

The importance of this body of knowledge cannot be exaggerated, not only for the journalist, but for the layman as well. Communication and its control are becoming dominant themes of modern society, and their study may well become the master discipline of the next several decades, just as theology was the master discipline of the 13th century and political economy that of the 19th.

This discipline has become important because the mastery of communication has become the mastery of a form of power. Easter Monday, 1916, in Dublin illustrates the point. On that day a revolution began, an attempt to seize political and military power. In previous revolutions, such as those in the United States or France, power was symbolized by arms, men, and fixed institutions and it was these that were under attack when the symbolic first shot was fired.

On Easter Monday the insurrectionists stormed a post office. Power in Dublin rested symbolically, and actually, in the communication center. The post office was also the telephone and telegraph center. Today, tanks rumbling beneath an airport control tower, troopers appearing in a newspaper office, or a new voice on the radio station are virtually the obligatory first signs that a seizure of power is being attempted.

From a journalist's point of view, the body of knowledge called communication includes (1) theory and nature of human communication; (2) mass communications systems and their role in audience formation and in influencing political behavior, (3) the structure of the news media, and social, economic, and political constraints upon the media; (4) the social and political dynamics of newsgathering and editing, and (5) the specific verbal and non-verbal communications systems in which the individiual journalist finds himself.

There is a growing awareness that a journalism department (or school of communications) has an obligation to provide courses in the first three areas not only for its own students but for the college or university at large.

The third level, the structure of news media, and their social, political and economic role, is of immediate concern to the working newsman and often the weakest link in his career preparation.

Too many young journalists sail into their first newsroom equipped with a little bit of libel law, a vague awareness that there is something called governmental "news management", a mystical reverence for the

First Amendment, and little more. They are unaware of how their career fits into a political system, and the special role and obligations of the mass media. They are unequipped to act responsibly, however great their good will.

Perhaps the most signal area of ignorance is in newspaper economics. The young journalism school graduate often enters the newsroom with the notion that the economics of the business have nothing to do with him, except on pay day, or as a constraint on his freedom to report and write as he pleases. He cannot imagine that the cost of newsprint delivered at the dock in Chicago is any more relevant to him than the cost of truffles passed over the kitchen gate in Paris.

The study of mass communication should include the study of the practical fact that news is a commodity as well as a piece of intelligence and that its gathering and dissemination cannot take place on an effective mass basis outside of a reasonably healthy economic organism.

The study of communication, for the aspiring journalist, thus includes a diffuse body of knowledge drawn from economics, politics, and social history. This diffuse knowledge, however, is pulled together in a specific social institution, the organs of mass communication. It is part of the body of knowledge of the journalist to understand how this institution functions in a modern democracy. Here is an area where knowledge is essential if the institution itself -- the free press -- is to survive.

(4) Communication Skill

The journalist's craft is too much denigrated, not only by the outsider who does not understand the craft and underrates its difficulty and complexity, but also by journalists themselves, who are impatient at what they conceive to be restraints of newswriting and display. It is vital that the journalist's body of knowledge include craft skills and an appreciation of their necessity and flexibility.

Sound craftsmanship insures predictability and stability. When the carpenter goes to his workbench, sound craftsmanship means that if he intends to make a chair, a chair will be made. When a reporter covers a story, sound craftsmanship means the story will be intelligibily and economically covered and written. This is nothing to be ashamed of. Rather it implies skills that can be rationalized and, it is to be hoped, handed down in the classroom and on the job. One may argue that conventional craftsmanship -- the mastery of the 5 W's, headline writing, makeup -- do not exhaust the journalist's skills, but it is self-defeating to argue further that conventional craftsmanship has no place in journalism education.

If we desire new, different tools, we must forge them with the tools already at hand.

A journalism curriculum, however, should not be simply indoctrination in imitation to enable the practitioner to get the job done, just as it is now done. Such institutions as the U.S. Army or the Telephone Company, not surprisingly, are rightly proud of their training courses that with high predictability of success stamp out artillery spotters or telephone installers. Such courses work because performance and challenge are closely matched. The circle is closed. What rote skill training cannot impart is the ability to do something new.

Journalism, however, unlike artillery spotting or installing telephones, is an open system. It has its inevitable routines, to be sure, but its essence is newsness.

The journalist is better equipped to meet the challenge of newsness if he is equipped with communications skills and and imaginative grasp of what these techniques mean for how he knows. His skills are put into proper perspective in the journalist's body of knowledge if he appreciates that they are not only ways of telling what he knows, but also ways of knowing.

For example, our old friends the inverted pyramid and 5 W's are ways of packaging the news -- products of industrialism as surely as Mr. Campbell's soup cans -- but they also dictate to a large extent what will go into the package. They are attitudes towards what is to be considered real. If an event cannot be packaged in the inverted pyramid, if it cannot be graded in order of significant fact, if the 5 W's cannot be neatly extracted and at least one of them pronounced novel or important, then the event, to many unreflective reporters, simply is not news. It hasn't, in a profound sense, happened.

The rookie, with good will and anxiety to get the job done, may struggle to make a story out of it. But the old pro, with a trained incapacity, measures his sophistication by his ability to put it out of his mind. Idle men on a street corner, youths riding on the back of buses three miles to the nearest swimming pool, an anxious knot of black bystanders around an accident scene while white policemen investigate; none of these is news, until idlers, the youths, the spectators begin exchanging shots with the police and firebombing their squad cars.

It is thus part of the journalist's body of knowledge to approach the technique and technology of journalism not simply as a body of neat verbal tricks and smooth graphic devices, but as social and intellectual forces in themselves, shaping how we know.

The way journalistic technique shapes reality is perhaps most readily apparent in the graphic arts. Who can deny that the 35 millimeter camera and Tri-X film have altered the way "news" looks? In ultimate terms, of course, a Kanon produces an image that is no more "real" than that produced by a Speed Graphic. But it produces an image that is more subtle in tone and composition, can be captured on film in a shorter period of time and under less available light. It produces a picture that appears more "intimate", more like what used to be called a "candid" photograph. Such pictures give an altogether different impression of public events than those that appeared in newspapers only two decades ago. The reader -- and television viewer -- is coaxed to believe that he is somehow closer to reality, that the photo is closer to the substance of the event. A whole new set of public symbols, with political implications, is thus being created.

The relation of technology to content is also seen in the growth of the youth or counterculture. Its popularity owes perhaps as much to offset printing as it does to ideology, because offset made it possible to foster the greening of America with a rush of printed material, cheaply produced and with possibilities for graphic presentation never before so readily available to the amateur. The generation of the 1960's is clamorous in self-congratulation about knocking off the shackles of inhibition, but perhaps ignores that the tree of liberty, to borrow Jefferson's metaphor, was manured not only with blood but with printer's ink.

We now know what Messrs. Mergenthaler and Koenig could not know, that the Linotype and rotary press helped produce the mass circulation newspapers, and thus a social force that changed history. Journalists of the next three decades also face technological changes that will alter the press as radically. It is the business of the journalism curriculum to help him to understand and control these changes.

Yet, traditional newsgathering and basic newswriting will probably not be changed drastically in the foreseeable future and will remain a key element in the journalism curriculum.

The journalism educator will be called upon to impart his knowledge of this tradition so that it can be used flexibly by his students to face new demands. To understand how traditional technique might evolve, and the role of the journalism school, a word should be said about the new demands themselves.

The greatest sins of the American newspaper press are sins of omission. It is not smug, we think, to say that what the press does, it does fairly well. Our problem is in what we fail to do. The outstanding example of recent history has been the press failure, along with other established institutions, to understand the breadth and depth of racism in American life. Another has been our role in perpetuating a demeaning attitude toward women, symbolized by the approach of far too many women's pages. The press also lagged on ecology, the energy crisis, and consumer affairs. Another sin, less clearly articulated by press critics, but widely expressed in the form of grudging mistrust or mute indifference to the press on the part of vast potential numbers of our audience, has been the increased distance between the press and the pace and detail of everyday life. As we become more professional, get better at doing what we already do pretty well, we become socially and esthetically removed from our audience. This is, perhaps, one of the hidden evils of "professionalism." There was a time when men of my father's generation called the newspaper "my paper," in the same way they called the neighborhood general practitioner "our doctor."

But, with professionalism comes impersonality; "our doctor" becomes "the doctor" and "my paper" becomes "the newspapers." There develops a general loosening of the ties of affection and trust -- seen in many other aspects of contemporary life -- the ties that are only knit by a sense that the physician or the newspaper addresses the patient or reader not simply as a client, but personally, in terms and on grounds relevant to them.

A newspaper understands its audience imperfectly if it relies primarily on social science research into audience characteristics and analysis and then tailors its products to meet the demand it thinks these characteristics suggest. This technique may satisfy immediate demands, but often misses real needs and deep-seated feelings that the social science research tools are not designed to uncover. To rely on it places the newspaper on the same footing with the advertiser and may well increase audience mistrust and the nagging feeling that it is being manipulated.

To reach an audience where it lives, a newspaper must cover the audience where it lives. There is no easy solution. In order to interpret significant events to the audience at the level of its daily lives, a newspaper must recognize that the daily lives are themselves overwhelming significant events. To return to Samuel Johnson's admonitions, " ...it must be remembered, that life consists not of a series of illustrious actions, or elegant enjoyments; the greater part of our time passes in compliance with necessities, in the performance of daily duties, in the removal of small inconveniences, in the procurement of petty pleasures; and we are well or ill at ease, as the main stream of life glides on smoothly, or is ruffled by small obstacles and frequent interruptions."

The implication of this train of argument for newspapers is not more soft features or souped-up sociology. It is fostering the kinds of stories and display, the kinds of reportorial and writing techniques that bring the main stream of life for the reader into the paper.

One of the techniques which we are suggesting as part of the journalist's body of knowledge is a simple one -- the use of the tape recorder not merely as surrogate shorthand, but as an active method of encouraging laymen to think about and express their experience.

Another is use of research methodology and the creation of a journalist's own research techniques to get at trends, needs, and concerns among the audience which go unexpressed in conventional social analysis. Training in polling is not a substitute for training in depth interviewing and nonreactive observation. A good journalism school exercise at this level is to require a student to study an individual, a work place, or a basic social-economic activity -- the day of a truck driver, the life of the assembly line, the ritual of a shopping trip to the supermarket -- so that his power of observing and expressing the main stream of life can be enhanced.

Most editors feel the need for new techniques when they urge writers to "get people" into their stories. But one can only get people in if people are invited in. A story is told of Robert Benchley that while at Harvard he was asked on a history examination to discuss a United States-Canadian treaty governing fishing rights on the Grand Banks off Newfoundland,"a) from the point of view of the Canadian fishing industry, and b) from the point of view of the American fishing industry." Benchley began his answer, "I will discuss the treaty c) from the point of view of the codfish." The only way Benchley could get the codfish in was to change the question.

The premise of this discussion is one long recognized by literary critics and cultural historians -- technique and content; the student of journalism should appreciate that part of journalism's body of knowledge is a sophisticated understanding of how technique controls and orders content.

In practical terms this means that technique courses are not something to be set off to one side of a journalism curriculum. They are, rather, part of a continuum that orders the journalist's body of knowledge as part of human imaginative experience in ordering reality.

The continuum ranges from a pole that demarcates what has been called High Literature and Philosophy -- Shakespeare and Dante, Plato and Spinoza -- to another that indicates non-verbal forms of conduct that create and define human community. It is not a continuum that can be neatly ranged in the chambers of classic departmental disciplines. It is more akin to a slide rule, expressing both function and value, a tool in the hands of those who possess and understand it.

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Earlier in this discussion we suggested that certain disciplines and professions operate in a world of limited accountability; that this, indeed, is what gives them strength and the possibility of pragmatic effectiveness. Journalism, we have proposed, is a more open system, its body of knowledge less easily circumscribed. It asks the most basic question, "What is truth and where is it?"

Whitehead reminds us of the inscription on an old sundial in monasteries and convents, "Pereunt et imputantur" -- "the hours perish and are laid to account." The words might be inscribed over the doors of schools of journalism. Time passes forever and is with us forever. We must make a worthy account.

A Paper Supporting Proposition #7: Attitude Formation

Every journalism student should understand the role of mass communication in attitude formation, reinforcement, and change.

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"I aimed for their hearts, but I hit them in the stomach."

--Upton Sinclair

Sinclair's novel, The Jungle, is often used as an historical example of the power of the media to mold public opinion and foment social change. As Sinclair ruefully notes, however, the effect of his novel was not quite what he intended. The Jungle is based on a loathing for the dehumanizing effects of the capitalistic system, particularly what it did to the waves of immigrants coming to our shores at the turn of the century. In portraying the callousness of American entrepreneurs toward their fellow men, Sinclair included gruesome episodes about the unsanitary practices in the meatpacking industry. Shortly after the book appeared, the consumption of meat dropped drastically. Eventually public controversy developed to the point that our country's first Pure Food and Drug Law was passed. Nevertheless, the myth has survived that this law -- which benefited middle-class meat-eaters far more than immigrant workers -- was the purpose of Sinclair's book. In any event, Sinclair's experience provides a dramatic example of the difficulty even the most skilled journalist faces both in communicating with audiences and changing their attitudes. (1)

Journalism practitioners may question the relevance of this example for their own trade. Sinclair wrote for an elite, literate segment of the populace, not a mass audience. Moreover, the polemics of his muckraking novel are hardly the stuff of which objective journalism is made. But this is precisely the point. Even under ideal persuasive circumstances such as these, attitude research can suggest reasons why the mass communicator faces a formidable task in moving a significant portion of the audience in an intended direction.

Indeed, one can argue from the attitude literature that the mass media are not a very powerful platform for persuasion in our society. Take the consequences of a central maxim of good reporting, namely presenting "both sides" of the story. Properly executed, this means providing enough arguments on both sides in one's communication so supporters on either side can retain their original position. Such communications, moreover, make the choice of those in the middle more complex or time-consuming, perhaps obscuring any clear conclusions -- no matter how obvious the objective reporter makes them appear.

It is crucial to remember that in everyday encounters with the mass media, audiences are confronted with a staggering amount of information -- a severe challenge for even the most rational audience member. Even after securing audience attention, the reporter seldom knows how well the audience will understand the message -- what images, prejudices, or other filters his "objective" story will activate in the public. By comparison, other forms of communication, particularly word-of-mouth, can adjust strategies more efficiently to achieve their intended communication.

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(1) From what we now know about audience attitudes and how they are influenced, a closer historical look at how other "great books" were received by their audiences undoubtedly would reveal similar departures from intended social consequences.

Perhaps this explains why so little literature in attitude research has employed the mass media under conditions that approximate everday reality. The classic studies in attitude change, for example, were carried out in highly controlled communication environments, such as psychological laboratories or college classrooms. Other frequently-cited attitude literature considers the effects of such non-media processes as brainwashing, training sessions, joining organizations, and group interaction. Most of the research literature on persuasion, therefore, is related to social situations where the communicator is in total command of the environment. In everday mass communication situations, on the other hand, the ultimate communicators are at the mercy of the attention level of their audiences.

Little wonder, then, that such literature has made so little dent in journalism curriculum. The task of integrating the lessons of such research into the education of journalists will therefore be a pioneering one.

Now the second part of this essay will highlight some areas of attitude research of which the aspiring communicator should be aware in connection with his social role in society. It cannot, however, provide any formulas for using such literature to achieve more persuasive writing. First of all, as I became aware while teaching a course titled "Psychological Principles of Communication", the overriding conclusion from the research literature is that few, if any, such principles exist. Secondly, the norms of the journalism profession consider persuasion contrary to the primary goal of presenting the truth to the best of one's abilities. While one may debate how closely the current state of American journalism measures up to this ideal, I believe it would be better to have the ramifications of attitude change research discussed by the students themselves -- as they see it relating to the norms and values developed in their other journalism courses and their own experience -- rather than to re-orient traditional writing courses around such material.

Hence persuasive principles (if they were to be found) might be these that ought to be avoided, if the communicator wishes to guard against undue manipulation of the audience. It is more likely, moreover, that the student will discover techniques of manipulation in other disciplines -- e.g. the principles of debate and rhetoric in speech departments, the mass persuasion techniques that have evolved from modern advertising and marketing research. Students might consider such principles of persuasion more usefully applied on future editors and supervisors than on their audiences, however.

This essay then will neither quarrel about past or present efforts of journalists to responsibly alert the public to facts it should know nor suggest more effective guidelines to mobilize public opinion than now exist. Instead it will focus on a way of thinking about the communication process that comes from the scientific study of attitudes.

It is argued that students in any field dealing with the day-to-day practice of mass communication -- be it print or broadcast journalism, advertising, speech, public relations or photography -- need to understand the basic theoretical and empirical perspectives afforded by the literature on attitude research. (2) Hopefully here best will the student be challenged to consider the social consequences of his chosen profession.

What are some of the basic features of the attitude literature about which journalists ought to be aware?

1) Attitudes can be measured. Social scientists have devised techniques that reliably reflect people's feelings toward other persons, ideas, policies, institutions, etc. Not only has considerable refinement been attained in the direct measuring of attitudes, via verbal responses to questions, but several interesting indirect methods of measuring attitudes have been devised in which a person's attitude is revealed unconsciously (their use entails several ethical issues, of course). There are valuable lessons to be learned from the attitude measurement literature for news interviewing, particularly in ways of asking valid and meaningful questions (e.g. the dangers of asking yes-or-no type questions).

2) Not all agencies that collect attitude data treat them in the same way. Like any piece of statistical evidence, results of attitude measurement can be used to support any point of view. The clearest example is that of "polls" taken for political candidates, or institutions, that have vested interest in showing results of clearest advantage to them. Nevertheless, reputable polling agencies or institutions of social research generally provide an accurate portrayal of, or have data available on, the state of public opinion for an amazing variety of attitude topics, from ecology to half-time shows at football games, from mental health to the state of the economy. Much of this filters into the mass media, although it will be argued later that, considering the advanced state of polling technology, the media have been guilty of grave inaccuracies in the reporting of public opinion.

3) Some public attitudes are rather frightening. Both social scientists and journalists seldom pause to consider the consequences of the fact that what is represented by public opinion is the commodity that comprises the audience for mass communication. If we require the physician to "heal thyself", we should require the journalist to "know

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(2) It would be remiss not to note that it is difficult to find an academic field in which there are more unresolved theoretical issues, more susceptibility to fads, fewer confirmed findings, less agreement about the meaning of the literature, and more noted scientists willing to agree that the basic concept (of attitude) ought to be abolished as a unit of study. Indeed no one has ever seen, touched or felt an attitude and psychologists consider attitude to be a "hypothetical" construct. Moreover, somewhere in the course of studying the attitude literature, the student will encounter sufficient evidence to seriously question the major research value of attitude -- its

thy audience". There are gulfs of opinion between the journalists and their audience. Social research has repeatedly found shaky support for first amendment rights, for other basic democratic principles, for non-violent means of resolving conflict, or for less traditional solutions to social problems. It is perhaps because these value differences are explicitly being reflected in the topics covered by the media that we find the lowered credibility of the media. I personally find the concern over media on credibility out of proportion to its importance, but the more media coverage reveals itself to be in conflict with the basic values of the public, the more decreased media credibility may be an inevitable trend.

4) Attitude data can add meaning to the understanding of behavior. In a society where there is a healthy view that "Actions speak louder than words", it still borders on the absurd for media coverage to infer attitudes and intentions from behavior. Attitude research has progressed to the point where in some circumstances the social scientist can predict behavior from attitudes. No attitude research on racial matters predicted the racial outbreaks of the 1960's; nevertheless, attitude research done after the riots indicated a rather different explanation for riot participation than that commonly reported in the media or believed by the public.

5) Research has been done on how the media affect audience attitudes. Actually, much more needs to be understood about the relation between media and public opinion in an everyday context. Most of the research of this type has been done in artificial laboratory settings. However, evidence on public reaction to such topics as the Vietnam War, or the demonstrations at Chicago in 1968, reinforce one prevalent conclusion from the laboratory literature that the media have little, if any, impact on audience attitudes. Nevertheless, we have witnessed sufficient counter-examples, particularly the greater public tolerance of minorities following generally sympathetic media coverage during the 1960's, to point up the need for more evidence on this contention.

6) Attitude data in some form are being collected and analyzed by almost all institutions in society. Attitude data are also used to forecast the general condition of the economy, to predict outcomes of elections, to indicate the strength of public support for legislation, to monitor working conditions and to guide debate about the nature of society. Perhaps the most extensive, and least accessible, body of attitude data in the country is that collected by marketing and commercial agencies. Two recent developments deserve special citation

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ability to predict behavior.

Since communication of some form is such a crucial element in both attitude formation and attitude change, a department of communication is a most appropriate place for students to place this attitude literature in such perspective. Unfortunately, integration of the vast amounts of available literature around the theme of communication is a goal that can only be partially realized at this time, as already noted.

for future use of attitude data: i) the social indicator movement, which is collecting periodic data on the economic, sociological, and psychological health of our society, and ii) the use of attitude data in the courtroom, particularly in the selection of juries.

7) Attitude research traces its origins back to several academic disciplines. Thus, the intellectual debt to the other disciplines in developing necessary groundwork for the study of attitudes should be made clear to the student. The methodology for studying attitudes has come from advances in the discipline of psychology, particularly laboratory psychology. Although falling far short of their goal of providing scientific principles for persuasion, the classic research of Yale University psychologists under the guidance of Carl Hovland (1954) is commendable for isolating important communication variables, such as communication credibility and types of messages (e.g. one-sided or two-sided approaches; fear vs. non-fear arousal).

Similarly the field is indebted to social psychologists, who have developed methods whereby attitudes can be measured; plausible models of how attitudes are formed, and who have sought to understand the complex interrelation between attitudes and behavior. Sociology has isolated the influences of social conditions and social roles on the development of public attitudes, particularly the effects of class and demographic factors on attitudes; some sociologists have provided valuable insights into the social and organizational factors that seem to bias attitudes of mass media practitioners, as well as their messages. Finally, from political science, crucial data have been obtained about the public consequences of important events reported in the media and about the nature and distribution of public opinion on pressing social issues.

Now, not all that interests psychologists, sociologists, and political scientists about attitudes will be relevant to the journalist. Moreover, attitudes comprise only one audience response that mass media practitioners consider important to their profession. The most widely hailed examples of high points in journalism, in fact, involve more tangible reactions than attitudes -- conveying awareness of some intolerable social condition; increasing knowledge and understanding of important social issues; bringing public attention to some possibly critical situation, and, in the process (often unintentionally, either directly or indirectly, for good or ill) influencing institutional action by promoting public interest and mobilizing public behavior. While "attention" and "behavior" arise often in the study of attitudes and are intimately related to changes in attitudes, the student in mass communications should remember that attitude change is neither the most desired goal of mass communications nor the only important impact that communications have. Indeed, communication researchers in several disciplines tend to agree that "awareness" is the primary effect of mass communications, and that persuasion or attitude change is brought about by face-to-face communication (Weiss 1970).

We have touched on some areas of attitude research of interest to future mass communicators, including reasons why attitude research should be more central in the journalist's educational portfolio. The abundant literature about attitudes can help students understand how public attitudes are formed, how they might alter those attitudes, and how their own attitudes may differ from public attitudes. Let us now detail the types of content a course in attitude should include.

Some Areas of Attitude Research of Particular Relevance to Communicators:

Since this proposal is something of a heretical gerrymandering of the attitude research literature, we will outline precisely what facets of the literature seem important, along with the lessons or issues they raise.

A traditional schematic model of communications portrays a sender attempting to convey a message to a recipient through some channel. A succinct verbal expression of this model is Harold Lasswell's famous question, "Who says what to whom, how, and with what effect?" Important research from attitude literature provides some illuminating answers to Lasswell's question.

> 1) There is first the matter of the "who", the communicator, the role that most of our students will themselves be assuming. What then are the kinds of messages that they will intend to communicate to audiences? Why do they feel it is necessary for the audiences to receive these messages? How do they think audiences will react to these messages? What audience behavior will be affected in the process? What, in other words, will be the social consequences of their professional efforts?
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> Available research indicates that as a group journalists have vastly different attitudes than their mass audiences. Possessing greater formal education, they not only place greater emphasis on the processes of rational argument and debate, but they also are likely to be far more interested in the topics they cover than the typical audience member they serve. Communicators need to reflect on the fact that they have thought about and lived with their story far longer than all but a handful of audience members.
>
> The phrase, "Scratch a journalist and find a reformer," suggests other ways in which the typical communicator differs from the "whom", the audience. While the communicator pursues "news", the audience cherishes stability. Little wonder, then, that journalists' perceptions of their audience diverge markedly from the picture of the audience drawn in public opinion research.
>
> Moreover, the attitudes of journalists themselves are subject to the often conflicting pressures of the journalist's role. Attitudes about what is good or bad journalism are also affected by the fact that it is the editor who passes judgment on the journalist's work and differentially rewards it. Attitude research also has identified a number of disturbing cognitive methods, by which individuals can rationalize and thus reinforce attitudes which are forced upon the individual by organizational imperatives, as in the case of the inexperienced journalist conforming to the will of the editor. For several reasons -- recent attitude research suggesting its innateness to all animal life -- the familiar becomes the good, and we all, in some sense, become slaves to the status quo.

2) With regard to the "what", the message, there is a dearth of proven effective methods of communication, despite magazine advertisements for correspondence courses and schools, or television and movie drama, which promise the availibility of such methods. Unfortunately, the promising early results of the Yale University Communication research group (e.g. Hovland 1954) which attempted to evolve "laws" or "principles of communication", have not survived replication. Thus, in some circumstances, a communication taking an extreme point of view will not be more effective than one using moderate arguments, and in some circumstances a communication using maximum fear will be more effective than minimal fear arguments, and in some circumstances, presenting one side of an argument will prove more effective than presenting both sides. Strongly implied throughout, however, is that under other conditions, these principles will not hold. Attitude research is a continual process of debunking or qualifying earlier findings, particularly those uncovered in the classic Yale studies. This exercise could be extended to evaluate practices that are in current journalistic vogue.

Nevertheless, two types of messages deserve greater attention by communicators, because they have been suggested by laboratory studies of communication and have been deemed useful *post hoc* explanations of less controlled studies of communication messages. First, *use explicit rather than implicit forms of communication*. With rare exceptions, available evidence suggests that communicators abandon implicit means of communication. In other words, "Subtlety will get you nowhere." If carried to an extreme, this advice might signal an unwarranted deathknell for gentle parody or delightful satire. Nevertheless, it is not unusual to find media personnel aiming over the heads of their audiences, perhaps because communicators work from such unrealistic pictures of their audience (especially where they become deeply engrossed in the story topic).

Second, *make messages useful*. Audiences attend to, and hence are more likely to be affected by, messages that are "useful," that explain something the audience wants to know, or that otherwise provides information that people find useful. The advice to provide "useful" messages is itself simple, and explicit, but deceptively so. To design "useful" messages, the student of communications must know more about the needs and values of his audience, the third element in the communication process which we shall examine next.

3) The student of communications should not be spared the pessimistic implications of the basic tenet of the relationship between the audience and the message: *selectivity*. Through selective filtering of communication messages, existing audience attitudes tend to become reinforced, crystallized and rigidified. Technically speaking, a major conclusion from the attitude literature is that congruent attitude change is more frequent than incongruent change; that is, reinforcement and strengthening of existing attitudes is far more likely than conversion to a previously unaccepted point of view.

The journalist, like other students exposed to college education, will adhere naturally to rational methods of reaching conclusions, which involve a thorough search of the information environment for alternatives, disciplined exposure to the arguments for each alternative, and deliberate evaluation of the pros and cons of each alternative. Average audience members, however, cannot afford the luxury of such deliberations for each of the many issues that they confront in the media. Thus, the ideal conclusion-forming process can be short-circuited by any of three hypothetical selective mechanisms:

a) Selective attention allows the audience member to remain ignorant of points of view opposite to his own. Thus, certain audience members do not read magazines or portions of the newspaper that might possibly challenge their own attitudes. As noted above, it is even more likely that those already committed to a point of view will be attentive to or seek out arguments or material that supports their point of view.

b) Selective exposure differs from selective attention because it occurs after the message has penetrated into awareness. The audience member knows opposing points of view exist, but ignores further particulars on them. A common example is Democratic or Republican voters who turn off their TV set or change channels when a message favoring the opposition party candidate comes on the air.

c) Assuming the mass communicator can overcome both the attention and exposure barriers, the audience member still may not rationally evaluate this new point of view. About 25 years ago, a group of social scientists at Harvard University interviewed ten ordinary men concerning their attitudes about Russia, a topic of little personal relevance to them. A unique feature of this study was that these men's attitudes were deliberately challenged using rationally superior counter-arguments, specifically designed to move these men's attitudes. The researchers came away from the experience thoroughly impressed by the subtle and multiple mental mechanisms by which these men could circumvent such arguments. We label this phenomenon selective perception. (3)

Recent reviews of the literature have challenged the prevalence of selective mechanisms suggested by earlier research, but communicators still should consider themselves fortunate if they are able to overcome them.

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(3) There are several other illustrative examples of selective perception that should intrigue the student of communications. Most notable are the examples of distortions by the public of the stands of politicians to be consistent with their attitudes about the politician. The support of Eugene McCarthy by hawks on the Vietnam War and the support of the Kennedys by highly racist individuals are two recent examples. The Harvard study is reported in Smith et al (1958).

Providing clues to when and how selectivity factors will operate is the psychological function that a particular attitude has for a particular audience member. Attitude literature suggests at least four: attitudes allow an individual to maximize personal satisfactions; defend an individual's ego from negative input; express positively facets of an individual's self-concept; and help orient the individual to what is often a confusing and chaotic world. It is the latter "knowledge" function toward which the professional communicator invariably makes his pitch. Yet if the audience member's particular attitude is not rooted in the knowledge function, it is unlikely such appeals will be effective. Thus, perhaps, the disturbingly common finding in the attitude literature of paramount consequence to communicators -- information alone does not change attitudes. (4)

4) The "how" component centers on the channel employed by the communicator to convey his message. The student should be aware of the obvious channel differences that cause, say, a TV magazine to have a different impact than the same item appearing in a newspaper or magazine.

The student may not have reflected, however, on the natural competition that exists between the mass media and interpersonal communication as sources of influence.

Attitude researchers reach rare unanimity on the point that, when compared, face-to-face communication influences attitudes more than media sources. Thus the mass communicator faces an uphill struggle if pitted against the usually more conventional attitudes of one's family and friends. Interpersonal sources have the advantage on several variables that have been found important to the achieving of attitude change. Not only does the mass communicator enter as a relative stranger in such circumstances, but undoubtedly suffers from lower credibility and with less ability to monitor whether his audience is indeed following his advice -- for the individual can more easily turn away from the media than from a face-to-face conversation. Moreover, the communicator has less ability to reward an individual audience member's acceptance of his message.

Perhaps the most important factor about interpersonal communication (subsuming some of the above factors) is the instantaneous feedback possible. The mass communicator seldom knows how the audience is reacting to the message. Unlike the personal situation, therefore, one cannot learn what types of arguments are most effective in different situations. In the interpersonal situation, the person can tailor arguments to meet the specific objections of each individual. To the extent the media are interested in improving their persuasive powers, therefore, the need for better means of gaining feedback from audiences becomes obvious.

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(4) Information on the lack of racial IQ differences seems to have had little effect on attitudes toward minority groups and the only information that seemed to affect public opinion on the Vietnam War was that we were not going to win it.

While previous discussion has emphasized the competition between media and face-to-face influence, communications research does in fact suggest that the two complement each other -- media being responsible for conveying awareness of some new idea, face-to-face influence affecting the individual audience member in the process of accepting an idea or changing an attitude. Persuasion through the media in the future, following a proven advertising strategy, might be enhanced by designing messages which stimulate or activate face-to-face discussion. An "Action-Line" column dealing with ideas rather than problems might be tried, or the give-and-take of alternate editorial stands recently attempted by some newspapers.

5) The final component in Lasswell's scheme, the "with what effect", queries, "Of what social consequence is the communicator's message?" The question could be asked more often by the communications profession despite its main goal being simply to convey the truth. Surely, however, different journalists prepare their copy with different social consequences in mind, although these may be unconscious or unstated.

First of all, is the communicator aware of the total number of mass media messages to which the audience member is exposed on a typical day? Amidst this media message bombardment, capturing audience attention is a notable accomplishment. But what are the chances of affecting audience attitudes or behavior in any significant way? Beyond that, how directly concerned should the communicator be about changing audience attitudes, or the way social policy may be affected in the long run?

Political scientists have long been aware that social policy is seldom changed because of the shifting attitudes of the larger public. Historically the lack of mechanisms such as public opinion polls has meant that few societal decision makers could have been aware of the true state of public opinion with much degree of certainty. Nor have any norms been incorporated into the policy process for determining how public opinion ought to contribute to policy-making decisions. But whatever the reason, the civics textbook model describing the media as mobilizing public opinion to affect government policy seems to have little correspondence to reality.

Must this imply that the media are powerless in the political process? History seems to provide several examples to the contrary, but the exact social processes that were involved deserve closer examination. Where the media seem to have their effect is directly on the attitudes of the elites and decision makers in society. (5) These elites often equate media exposure of their scandalous or stupid behavior with the arousal of public opinion. Indeed, one often senses that when decision makers refer to public opinion, it is newspaper editorializing that they have in mind. It is therefore the threat of mobilizing public opinion upon which the media are probably best able to engage the attitudes of decision makers and affect social action. Thus, it becomes most important to specify the social roles of those whose attitudes the communicator wishes to reach.

There is, however, a growing realization on the part of policy makers of the degree to which the threat of public opinion is hollow. With this assumption gone, media practitioners may well find that new strategies for affecting the attitudes of decision makers are required.

Conclusions:

The above discussion has placed some germane findings of attitude research and theory into a context of the mass communication process. The attempt has been made in the spirit of illustrating the wide variety of attitude research available to guide future media deliberations and practices.

The relevance of attitude research is not clear when it comes to answering burning questions that currently concern communications professionals, the questions that communicators will face in the immediate future -- such as press councils and confidentiality of sources. But, as we have seen, attitude research provides few, if any, simply translatable research solutions. The communications discipline eventually must develop its own empirically-verified principles of communication. As is true for the student, attitude research only provides a framework within which more rational and realistic solutions about communication practices can be discovered and evaluated.

For dramatic effect our line of argument has stressed imparting student awareness of the difficulties of mass communication, in the hope that journalism students may think more clearly about the societal impact of their life's work. The attitude research discussed here can suggest to students new ways of making their communication society more efficacious.

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(5) Examination of the mass media usage of top decision makers in society indicates that they attend to quite different media than the average citizen. In connection with our previous discussion of interpersonal influence, however, they are more highly dependent on issues brought to their attention by their staff members or associates.

On the other hand, the instructor should impress neophyte journalists with the value of attitude research in better assessing the information they must process everyday. Media accounts are supposedly based on "objective" information, but this information comes from individuals and agencies trying to enhance or defend their own attitudes. A basic tenet of good investigative journalism involves checking with all sources in a story. The practice provides protection against selective perceptions among one's sources, but the attitude literature should alert the journalist to the variety of role pressures that might color a particular source's attitudes about a certain event or story. Able journalists never stop asking themselves what the source of a news story has to gain from a story's publication. In a related vein, journalists should question the distortion brought about by their own needs to complete a story, when information is always incomplete and the journalists' own attitudes and values determine the priorities to be put on various elements in a story.

If the instructor needs an example of lamentable coverage of "attitude stories" in the media, look to the errant media descriptions of the state of public attitudes. Over the last three decades, various observers in the media have sought to explain both the nature and changes of public opinion. Such explanations usually have been found highly illusory under the closer scrutiny of scientific attitude research. Included under this charge are such media fictions as the "generation gap", the "silent majority" or the "blue collar blues". The influx of youth into society and the nature of protest movements on Vietnam and Women's Liberation have been exaggerated by media accounts, perhaps generated by a press corps which holds the values of social change more sacred than societal stability. Most puzzling has been the persistent attempt of political observers in the media to describe public voting patterns in terms of shifts in liberal or conservative "moods", when these abstractions have been conclusively shown by attitude research to be of minimal consequence to the average voter. (6)

In short, the time has come for the communications profession not only to become current with the attitudes literature, but to integrate and direct it for the greater overall benefit both to the profession and to society.

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(6) The liberal-conservative distinction remains, of course, crucial in understanding and reporting the political behavior of policy makers and elites. The communicator's mistake comes in the assumption that the mass audience follows political affairs closely enough to assimilate and employ the distinction in their own deliberations.

A Paper Supporting Proposition #8: Economics of the Press

There is a cost in acquiring information and there is cost in disseminating information. Every journalist needs to understand how these costs relate to his work as a journalist.

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For

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Editorial excellence and economic independence are essential if newspapers are to provide their communities with responsible, quality journalism. Editorial excellence--reporting, writing and editing--is an art form, but to be successful it must be bolstered by a sound balance sheet and an adequate return to newspaper owners on their investment.

Editorial independence, protected by the First Amendment against government control, gives newspapers in the United States strength and influence unmatched in the world. It is economic independence, though, that provides newspapers with a strong bulwark to resist pressures from politicians, government bureaucrats, advertisers and special interest groups.

The history of American journalism is studded with newspaper failures--victims of economic distress. During the past 50 years, more than 2,000 newspapers and periodicals of every description have failed. Some were of dubious quality. But among those that perished were such distinguished notables as The World, The Sun, and the Herald-Tribune, in New York City, and, more recently, Look and Life.

The Fourth Estate still has a glamor that surpasses most other industries, but a profit motive in its business operations is vital to its preservation. This basic fundamental has been virtually ignored in journalism education. Both faculty members and journalism students should have a more comprehensive understanding of newspaper economics.

Newspaper economic independence, with some exceptions, began to emerge only in the 20th century. Before the First Amendment was incorporated into the Constitution in 1791 and through the mid-1800's, newspapers existed primarily through sponsorship by political parties. Political leaders dominated editorial policies then and their influence prevailed in many areas until the early 1900's. From 1920 on, the majority of newspapers began to assert their political and economic independence, but the 1929-35 depression added to the casualty list of financially feeble papers.

Between 1920 and 1940, because of mergers and failures, the number of cities with newspapers under one ownership grew from 743 to 1,245.[1] And in 1973 they numbered 1,509. The latter figure is partly attributable to the establishment of new dailies in cities which previously had no daily.

Since 1940, the nation has added two more states and the population has increased more than 70 million, but in mid-1973 there were only 55 cities with two or more daily newspapers under separate ownership. Plenty of competition remains for those newspapers in single ownership cities, however. It comes from daily and weekly newspapers in neighboring communities, from television, radio and cable television, special interest newspapers and magazines, and the many leisure activities competing for people's time.

Nevertheless, the major factors responsible for reducing the number of cities with head-to-head competition were economic. Time and experience have shown that there is a limit to the number of newspapers a community will support on a sound economic basis.

Most journalism curriculum programs, unfortunately, have virtually ignored the importance of economic independence to survival of a free press. While students are impressed with the glamor of the news-editorial functions, they are woefully uninformed as to costs of production, of newsprint, circulation distribution or the percentage of payroll to all expenses. Nor do they have more than a slight understanding of the relationship of advertising and circulation revenue or what makes a newspaper economically sound.

Indeed, only during the past decade has this type of information been available. If journalism education is to adequately prepare students to cope with newspaper problems for the seventies and beyond, more emphasis must be placed on "Economics of the Press." That is the purpose of this paper, which will cover:

1) The newspaper business: Where it is in relationship to other industries; where it is heading.

2) Newspaper economics--key to survival: Sources of revenue; major cost factors; budgets; management by objectives to achieve adequate profits, and economic independence.

3) Impact of new technology: The conversion to new printing methods; impact on personnel and costs; relationship of management and labor.

4) Growth of newspaper groups: Their influence and that of publicly held newspaper companies on newspaper values; why independent newspaper ownerships are dwindling.

5) Information--still the lifeblood of the newspaper: What it costs to acquire.

6) Role of research and promotion: The total newspaper concept in the development of newspaper news-editorial and advertising products.

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THE NEWSPAPER BUSINESS

Newspapers are undergoing a technological revolution unprecedented in journalism history. They also have become one of the fastest growing businesses in the nation although the number of daily newspapers has remained relatively stable since World War II.

The growth has been in the newspapers' economic strength despite some prophets of doom who saw newspapers going the way of the horse and buggy.

Herbert Brucker, a distinguished editor writing in 1959 for Saturday Review[2], made this analysis:

> "The printed newspaper is about 300 years old. It would seem that such an ancient institution, antedating most of the other foundations upon which our 200 year old civilization is built, would be durable enough to last forever. Yet there already are many indications that the newspaper may have to go the way of the horse and buggy, the trolley car and the American who worked for himself instead of the organization."

In 1959, newspapers were emerging from a mini-recession and newsprint and production costs had been rising faster than revenue. That also was about the time most newspaper managements realized their economic survival depended on better fiscal and production planning.

Thus, 14 years later, the newspaper business had become the fifth largest employer among all manufacturers.[3] Circulation reached a record high of 62,510,242 at the end of 1972.[4] Still, the increase was only slightly more than four-tenths of one percent over 1971, while the nation's population increased twice as much during that period.

Many factors have slowed circulation growth since 1960. Broadcasting had a major impact, although neither TV nor radio spelled the death knell of newspapers as other prophets had predicted. One consequence of broadcasting has been that families now subscribe to one instead of two or more newspapers. And in metropolitan areas there are fewer competitive newspapers to buy.

Broadcasting will continue to be a formidable competitor, especially as it expands in the field of cable television. The 1973 Broadcasting Yearbook shows this trend in broadcast outlets since World War II:

	1946	1955	1973
TV stations	6	439	922
AM radio	956	2,669	4,381
FM radio	55	552	2,950

And Television Digest in 1973 reported 3,033 cable systems operating in 6,041 communities, presently making available to subscribers anywhere from eight to 20 channels. Franchises have been granted for 1,673 additional systems and franchise applications are pending for 2,316.

Radio came into being as a public service in the early 1920's, when there were 2,000 daily newspapers. By 1940, there were 765 licensed stations and advertisers were putting ten per cent of their money into broadcast. In 1945, there were only 1,744 daily newspapers. Television didn't surpass radio for the advertising dollar until 1954 but in the next 20 years nearly tripled its share.

Cable systems, started in the 1950's in communities which had no television and which could not receive a good signal from other cities, came under jurisdiction of the Federal Communications Commission in 1966. They still are in their infancy as an advertising medium, their support coming from subscriber payments.

However, the future threat to newspaper circulation comes from the capability of two-way cable transmission. A home communications terminal would enable a subscriber to obtain a wide range of services, including: Special news services--weather, sports or markets; a system for making hotel and plane reservations; shopping for items displayed on the tube; participation by citizens from their homes in local government meetings; and police and fire surveillance of their homes while they are away.

Cable systems have moved into metropolitan and other areas with multiple television stations. They offer more variety and excellent reception. Where cable television is available, most new apartment projects, especially high-rise units, are being wired for this service.

Two-way cable still was in the experimental stage in 1973, but within the next ten years it will be in full operation in many areas. And it will change the life styles of people as well as newspaper circulation patterns.

How it will affect circulation demographics is uncertain. A W. R. Simmons market survey in 1970 showed that three-fourths of newspaper readers are between 25 and 65 years of age and 87 per cent of them have some college education. As the better-educated young adults who were products of the World War II "baby boom" move into the 25-65 age group, market analysts expect circulation to grow at a rate faster than population growth if the birth rate continues to drop.

In a survey of prospects for the newspaper business from 1973-1990, the Battelle Memorial Institute forecast a circulation growth rate that by 1985 would total between 82,000,000 and 93,000,000.[5]

Battelle examined two possible competitive elements that would affect newspapers--cable television (CATV) and home facsimile. Battelle said "the possibility of the reproduction of an entire newspaper in the home is not feasible during the time period of this study." This has been true since the first experiments with facsimile in the 1930's.

CATV is another matter. It will have a growing influence on newspaper economics by competing for people's time and advertising revenue. Battelle noted that one of the great strengths of newspapers is the freedom of the reader to absorb information at a time of his choosing. But, the study said, "Specialized television shows through the greater capability of CATV will weaken some of the advantages of the newspapers. Continuously operating news broadcasts will return the decision of timing to the individual television viewer. He will be able to receive an up-to-date news summary at the time of his choosing."

However extensive cable television news summaries may be, they cannot deliver the variety and expanse of news coverage provided by the print media. In addition, CATV operators, like broadcasters, do not have the same First Amendment protection afforded newspapers. They are licensed by local governments and face periodic license renewals, leaving them vulnerable to whims of disgruntled politicians and special interest groups.

During the past 20 years, the total number of daily newspapers has remained virtually unchanged. For instance, at the beginning of 1973, there were 1,761 daily newspapers, one more than in 1955 and 12 more than in 1971.[6] However, 30 years ago there were 1,878 dailies and the largest number of dailies this nation ever had was 2,042 in 1920.[7] At that time, 552 cities had two or more dailies.

Only one city, New York, now has more than two daily newspaper ownerships in direct competition as publishers of three general interest newspapers--the Times, Daily News and the Post. Chicago and Boston have two morning-evening combinations owned by two companies. In Baltimore, Philadelphia, Fort Worth, Oklahoma City and San Antonio, there are single ownerships of morning-evening combinations competing against another newspaper. As an indicator of the trend of newspaper ownership, all of the papers in these cities are members of groups except the Globe papers in Boston, the Sun papers in Baltimore, the New York Post, and the newspapers in Oklahoma City.

Separate ownerships control morning and evening papers in 21 of the 55 competitive cities, but their competition is primarily in the news-editorial field. They operate under agency or joint printing agreements. Most pool their advertising and sales forces and circulation distribution as well as sharing one printing plant. In some cases, one newspaper contracts with another to handle all functions except news-editorial.

Many of these agreements date from the late 1930's and early 1940's when some newspapers were in financial distress and it became obvious that they could not compete economically in separate plants. They elected to take the joint printing route rather than merge into one ownership or a partnership, as was done in many other cities.

In 1965, when the Tucson, Ariz., newspapers sought, under their agreement, to merge into one ownership, the Justice Department intervened. The district federal court and eventually the United States Supreme Court held that such a merger violated the anti-trust laws.[8] The courts held that separate ownerships must be maintained because both were profitable papers. However, it permitted the continuance of a joint printing operation so long as there was no pooling of profits or other violations of the anti-trust laws.

After this case finally was decided on appeal to the Supreme Court, the Justice Department prepared to contest other agency agreements. A year later, though, Congress approved the Newspaper Preservation Act.[9] In the interest of maintaining separate news-editorial departments of two daily newspapers in the same city, the act sanctions continued operation of separately owned newspapers which had such operating agreements at the time of enactment of the new law. For newspapers in other cities to effect such agreements in the future, though, it will be necessary to prove to the satisfaction of the attorney general of the United States that bankruptcy is or would become the only alternative for one of them.

While the number of daily newspaper operations increased in 1972, three newspapers perished in metropolitan areas because of economic distress. The Washington Star purchased the afternoon Daily News from Scripps-Howard, the Hearst-owned Record-American in Boston bought the rival Herald-Traveler and the Newark News closed its doors after a costly strike. The 12 new daily operations were in non-metropolitan communities, and increased to 99 the number of dailies that have been started since World War II. Most of them grew out of bi-weekly or tri-weekly publications.

At the start of 1973, with 1,761 daily newspapers in operation, there were only 121 general interest newspapers in the 55 competitive cities. There were morning-evening combinations under one ownership in another 111 cities, single dailies in the remaining cities, and four nationally-recognized special interest dailies--The Wall Street Journal, Journal of Commerce, Christian Science Monitor and the Chicago Defender.

Once metropolitan areas were hotbeds of daily newspaper competition and at one time New York City had 22 dailies. Now a vast number of people who work in Manhattan commute there from Long Island, Westchester County, Connecticut and New Jersey. These areas have spawned new newspapers, and dailies already in existence became larger-- both in circulation and advertising volume--and more prosperous. For instance, in 1972 circulation in Manhattan fell 27 per cent while in Westchester and Rockland counties it went up 30 per cent.

Besides the growth of suburban dailies, the late 60's and early 70's saw another major newspaper expansion: that of the suburban weekly or semi-weekly, often on a voluntary pay or what is known as a controlled circulation basis. These papers flourished where a metropolitan or suburban daily did not have a heavy circulation penetration of high-density population areas. The advertiser needing coverage of such areas went to weeklies and shoppers when the dailies did not adequately cover the suburban market. More shoppers failed than succeeded because they could not provide a distribution system to guarantee household delivery and the news content, if any, was of poor quality.

Some did succeed and became controlled circulation publications. This sparked a trend of weeklies and some dailies to the voluntary pay plan and the distribution of shoppers to the paper's entire marketing area to broaden the advertisers' coverage. Van Nuys and Walnut Creek, Calif., two of the daily pioneers in the voluntary pay field, had in mid-1973 a circulation of 275,000 and 79,000 respectively. The paid subscribers ranged from 22 per cent in Van Nuys to 40 per cent in Walnut Creek.

Dean Lesher, president of the Contra Costa Times in Walnut Creek, told a session of the 1973 American Newspaper Publishers Association Convention that "we have come to realize that net paid circulation doesn't mean as much to advertisers as it did in the past." He predicted that free or voluntary pay circulation would become widespread within 10 years among both dailies and weeklies. Lesher emphasized that a controlled circulation newspaper must have better news content than a paid circulation newspaper because "an uninvited guest must be more attractive than an invited guest."

Several major newspapers have entered the suburban weekly field, including the Knight, New York Times, and Harte-Hanks organizations. The Minneapolis papers bought weeklies in the Denver and Baltimore areas. Incidentally, they took this step after a strong weekly organization circled the Minneapolis-St. Paul suburban area. That weekly operation is a combination of pay, voluntary pay and shopper. One weekly group that has publicly held stock, Com Corp., operates in the Cleveland metropolitan area.

The successful suburban weeklies, voluntary pay or otherwise, are those with a strong, community-oriented news-editorial product. It is the secret to reader acceptance. It also illustrates the pattern of suburban newspaper development since World War II. Only print media can provide the type of community coverage--from Little League to the School Board--that people want. When the dailies fail to supply such news, someone steps in to fill the vacuum. The success of Newsday on Long Island and the Bergen Record in northern New Jersey, first with dailies and then Sunday editions, illustrates how community coverage pays off and the problems it creates for metropolitan dailies.

Thus, whether in the metropolitan centers, other cities or in Mart, Tex., which has the smallest daily in the nation (circulation 1,050), population movements, new reader habits and broadcast competition have a major impact on newspaper economics.

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NEWSPAPER ECONOMICS--KEY TO SURVIVAL

Despite record prosperity, the continued independence of the newspaper business is still keyed to sound economics.

In a comprehensive analysis of newspaper economic trends from 1946-1970, Jon Udell of the University of Wisconsin emphasized that the free press of the United States rests on two foundations:[10]

- The First Amendment, or the right to report the news;
- Economic security, or the means to report the news.

"The newspaper business is larger than most industries in the country," Udell noted, and "the social significance of newspapers goes beyond their economic contribution."

And economically they are one of the fastest growing industries in America, the U.S. Department of Commerce reported.[11] Its Office of Business Research and Analysis forecast that newspaper publishing revenue would top $8.2 billion in 1973. Besides being the fifth largest employer (380,500, up 10,500 from 1971), the industry is tenth in the value of shipments. The department predicted an annual growth rate of five per cent with revenues exceeding $11.6 billion by 1980, with advertising revenue accounting for two-thirds to three-fourths of the total. Udell was more conservative, pegging the growth rate in the 70's at 3.7 per cent on an annual basis.

Long past are the days when large numbers of newspaper owners worried about whether revenues would meet their weekly payrolls and monthly newsprint bills. In 1972, for instance, some advertisers received rebates because newspaper earnings exceeded government-set profit limits. To avoid rebates, other newspapers made equipment purchases or undertook in 1972 plant modernization programs that had been scheduled for 1973.

A few dailies still find it tough going financially. However, they generally are located in non-growth or competitive areas, have not been well managed, have failed to utilize new technology to cut production costs, or are saddled with unrealistic union contracts.

Newspapers continue to be the most popular advertising medium, according to figures compiled by Robert J. Cohen, vice president of the McCann-Erickson advertising agency.[12] In 1972, advertising expenditures totaled $23.11 billion, and of this amount $7. billion or 30.3 per cent, went to newspapers. Television got 17.6 per cent and radio 6.7 per cent. Other media got these percentages: Direct mail 14.5; magazines and farm publications 6.5; the business press 3.4; outdoor billboards 1.2; and 19.7 was classed in the miscellaneous category.

The impact of television on newspaper economics is reflected in Cohen's figures which showed that in 1950 newspapers got 36.3 per cent of $5.7 billion in advertising dollars. That year television got 3 per cent and radio 10.6 per cent.

Eighty-five per cent of newspaper advertising revenues come from department stores, other local display accounts and from classified ads. National advertising contributes only about 15 per cent of newspaper ad revenues whereas it is the major source of television revenue.[13] Local advertising also is the prime source of radio revenues.

The largest increase in newspaper ad revenues has been in classified. It represents about one-third of local revenue and since the early 1960's it has exceeded national revenue. However, much of what once was billed to national advertising now goes into the retail advertising account through co-op arrangements. That is, a manufacturer will share the cost with a local dealer for product advertising.

Whether advertising makes up two-thirds or three-fourths of total newspaper revenue depends principally on the size of the market and circulation rate policies. As circulation rates have gone up, growth has been somewhat curtailed, but circulation now is contributing a larger share of total revenue. This, of course, does not apply to free or voluntary pay programs, which still are in their infancy for daily papers.

During the past ten years, the number of newspapers that increased their per copy price from five to ten cents doubled, but the most dramatic trend has been the switch to 15 cents. In 1963, only three newspapers charged 15 cents a copy. Ten years later there were 351 and the list was growing.[14] As a result, between 1950 and 1971, total circulation revenue tripled, growing from $1 billion to $3 billion.[15]

It's on the smaller and medium-sized papers that circulation provides 30-35 per cent of total revenue. Many of these papers charge 90 cents for six daily issues, have relatively low subscriber turnover and less distribution expense than larger newspapers.

Newspapers in the 150,000-plus circulation range generally are those charging only 10 cents for single copy home delivery, but their Sunday rates range from 25 to 50 cents. Their daily rates are somewhat lower because they are trying to compete as a "second paper" in their retail market area against smaller dailies.

The percentage of circulation revenue that must be plowed back into circulation sales and promotion because of subscriber turnover can range as high as 50 per cent during certain times of the year in major cities and metropolitan areas where there is a mobile population. This has been a major problem in San Francisco and Los Angeles and the areas around them, where there is substantial competition. Distribution costs also are higher for the larger newspapers because of the marketing area they must serve to attract advertising volume.

And distribution is likely to become a growing economic headache for most newspapers.

The independent carrier system has been one of the key elements contributing to the success of daily newspapers. No other business today provides daily delivery of a bulky, perishable product at a price below cost. Not only does a subscriber pay no premium, but often pays less for a newspaper at his doorstep than it would cost at a newsstand. And to produce the product itself costs about four times its retail price.

Recruiting carriers, though, has become more difficult and the turnover is high. The carrier earns two to four cents per week day on a daily subscription, five to eight cents on Sunday--his margin as an independent contractor depending on the retail price of the paper. He collects the bills and often must make two or three trips to find someone home and he absorbs the bad debts of non-paying subscribers.

As newspapers have installed computers, they have gone more and more to pay-in-advance subscriptions to relieve the carrier of collections. Nevertheless, changes may be ahead for the current distribution system, and whatever replaces it will be more costly.

Income from advertising and circulation is virtually the only source of revenue for most newspapers. But there are exceptions. Many groups and independents have broadcast outlets, including CATV. The Los Angeles Times-Mirror, America's largest publicly held publishing company, has major revenue sources from newsprint and other forest products, ranging from lumber to paper bags. It prints telephone directories, books, and has Golf and Ski magazines. The New York Times, besides its newspaper and broadcast properties, also has newsprint resources, owns one magazine that is distributed in chain food stores, and another that features tennis.

Media General, the Virginia-based company with newspaper operations in Richmond, Winston-Salem, N. C., and Tampa, Fla., also owns a profitable system for recycling old newsprint. Its plants are located in New Jersey and California.

Several major organizations recoup some of their vast expenditures for news coverage by selling their news, feature material and pictures to other newspapers. The latest entrant in this field--in mid-1973--was the Knight News Wire. It is a high-speed wire that operates in conjunction with the Chicago Tribune-New York News supplementary service. Other supplementary wire and syndicated feature services are operated by the New York Times (it also offers a picture service), the Los Angeles Times and the Washington Post; Newhouse, Chicago Daily News and Sun Times, Copley, Hearst, Scripps-Howard and Des Moines Register-Tribune.

Smaller newspapers also have diversified with outside revenue coming from real estate interests, rental car agencies--they rent their own circulation trucks and company cars from these agencies--and truck companies that transport newspapers one way and merchandise on the return trip. One newspaper even operates a local airport; another owns a private golf club.

Regardless of the revenue source, it must be sufficient to cope with operating costs, pay for new equipment and capital improvements and to provide a reasonable return for owners and stockholders. What an adequate profit margin is varies with the objectives of the owners.

There was a time when newspapers could break down expenses into roughly three equal categories--people, newsprint, and ink, and all other costs. This is no longer accurate because of rising payroll costs. Salaries and wages plus fringe benefits now represent, on many newspapers, as much as 50 per cent of their operating costs. With the greater use of electronic technology in production departments, personnel costs should rise at a more reasonable pace.

Newsprint and ink costs are another matter. Until 1973, ink prices had been fairly stable. But due to the energy crisis, the cost of oil, which is the base for most inks, rose and so did the ink price. Newsprint costs have doubled in the past 20 years and manufacturers have warned they need more money to modernize their plants to meet pollution control standards and to expand facilities to satisfy the future demand for newsprint.

In mid-1973, newsprint was in short supply because of (1) heavy demand, and (2) curtailed operations in some Canadian mills caused by strikes in the mills and by walkouts that crippled Canadian railroad operations. Newsprint cost $173-$175 a ton and manufacturers forecast more increases. They said that they must have $190-$200 a ton to finance capital improvements and to make an adequate profit. The newsprint and ink bill for the medium-size daily in 1973 ran about 10 per cent of its revenue, for the 250,000 circulation daily, 28-30 per cent and higher for the large metropolitan dailies.

Thus, expenditures for personnel and newsprint and ink generally make up about 75 per cent of a newspaper's total costs. Twenty years ago these items accounted for about 66 per cent.

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NEWSPAPER PROFIT PLANNING

Newspapers are unique in that it is difficult to compare one operation to another, even members of the same group. To provide an overall profile, the research department of a leading investment banking firm, Kidder, Peabody, compiled a composite of two circulation groups.[16] One for 35,000--close to what a Rand Corporation survey[17] showed to be the average medium daily--and one for 250,000 to represent the larger newspapers.

Here is how the composite profile looked:

Size of Daily:	35,000		250,000[18]	
Revenues		%		%
Advertising	$2,504,900	71	$18,207,024	84
Circulation	1,020,100	29	3,477,886	16
Total Revenues	$3,525,000		$21,684,910	
Expenses				
News/Editorial	397,100	11.3	1,923,106	8.9
Advertising Sales	262,700	7.5	978,459	4.5
Production	755,000	21.4	3,180,019	14.6
Newsprint-Ink	335,600	9.5	6,012,141	27.8
Building	110,900	3.2	377,619	1.8
Circulation	319,300	9.0	1,612,290	7.4
Administration-Gen.	246,200	7.0	1,716,815	7.9
Supplements	200	--	94,394	0.4
Depreciation	77,000	2.2	454,699	2.1
Other	258,500*	9.5	295,724	1.4
Total	$2,762,500		$16,645,266	
Operating Profit	$ 762,500	21.6	$ 5,039,644	23.2

*Includes employee benefits not calculated for larger newspapers.

This pre-tax profit of 21.6 per cent for the composite 35,000 daily falls in line with the average for ten newspapers of 30,000-38,000 reporting in an Inland Press Association survey, which ranged from 7.6 to 40 for an average of 23.8 per cent. The operating profit for the ten members in this group, though, ranged from $318,000 to $1,109,700.[19]

Editor & Publisher's 1973 fiscal profile on the medium city newspaper showed that its circulation dropped from 33,700 to 33,100 and that while its total revenue was up 11 per cent, expenses went up 16.7 per cent.[20] The operating profit dropped from 21.6 as a percentage of revenue in 1971 to 17.6 in 1972.

However, the larger morning-evening-Sunday combination did better by holding the line on expenses. Scott D. Timmerman, president of the Newspaper Analysis Service, Cincinnati, in a profile on a 260,000 combined circulation paper for Editor & Publisher, reported income up 6.3 per cent and expenses increased only 5.5 per cent.[21] The pre-tax profit was 23.7 per cent of total income compared to 23.2 the previous year.

For the medium city newspaper, news-editorial costs were 11.3 per cent of income, and for the larger combination 8.9 per cent.

In determining the news and editorial department share of the newspaper's budget, there is general agreement that it should be based on a percentage of revenue. What percentage is determined by the publisher's objectives. Does he want the type of reporting that could result in a Pulitzer prize? Does he want to maintain bureaus or roving correspondents in surrounding areas to help build circulation and expand his advertising marketing area? Will he have a correspondent in the state capital and/or Washington? How many wire or picture services does he need to provide a product that will be more than a match for his newspaper competition, whether it be locally, from a neighboring city or a metropolitan daily?

The answers to these questions will determine what staff resources are necessary to gather and process news copy. And the personnel expense will run as high as 70 per cent of his news-editorial department operating costs. Overall, the nation's daily newspapers spend $750-900 million annually to acquire and process information for publication.[22]

To tie news-editorial budgets to a cost-per-subscriber formula sets a ceiling that seldom allows for growth and initiative. And if budget restrictions inhibit news-editorial enterprise, the circulation department will find it more difficult to increase subscribers. And to make the most of advertising revenue potential, consistent circulation growth is essential.

Sound fiscal planning bases advertising rate increases on circulation growth on an annual basis as well as relating them to cost increases for newsprint and personnel. This is an integral part of profit planning and quite a contrast to days when rates were raised only when profits shrank.

One major fiscal control gears news-editorial space to advertising volume. Media Records data show that the ratio of news content has remained consistent between 1954 and 1971. However, the number of pages devoted to editorial matter increased by one-third daily and one-fourth on Sunday.[23] The "news hole" percentage in 1954 was 40 per cent, and in 1971 it was 38 per cent, but during those years the size of the average daily increased 12 pages and the Sunday edition went up 31 pages.

Experience has shown that newspaper profits can be improved through profit-planning without sacrificing the quality of the product or of personnel.

To provide an illustration of why planning and budget control are essential, a newspaper operation of 200,000-250,000 circulation must generate $5 in revenue to produce $1 profit. A reasonable after-tax profit expectation runs between eight and 12 per cent of gross revenues. A few newspapers can make between 12 and 22 per cent after-tax profit and others, because of competitive conditions or poor management, will barely break even or make as little as four to seven per cent. Compared to 40 years ago, or even as late as the fifties, if a publisher operates the only daily newspaper in a market with sound fiscal management there is little reason for him to go broke.

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MANAGEMENT BY OBJECTIVES

Budget planning, to be effective, must have the participation of each department head as well as the president or publisher in order to establish objectives. It also takes time and effort, and if results are to be accomplished there must be a system for continuous review.

Most budgets are on a 12-month basis. However, to provide uniform week-to-week comparisons, some companies now operate on an annual fiscal basis of 13 four-week periods. Budgets are projected on an annual basis, 15 months, or, in a few cases, several years in advance. Revisions are made as often as every 90 days or every six months.

Gannett Co., Inc., for instance, has set up a profit-planning data base.[24] Each of the company's 40 operating units submits in the fourth quarter of each year a three-year profit plan.

"The purpose of the profit-planning program," said Joseph P. Junker, director of systems and procedures, "is to (1) provide a means of generating a timely set of profit-planning and control reports on a regular accounting period basis, and (2) provide, on demand, a means of testing, for management analysis, the impact of proposed and possible changes in the forecast regardless of the source of these changes. This testing or simulation takes the form of 'What if...' questions posed by the user of the program."

Each accounting period, Gannett compares actual results to the forecasts to give management information on fiscal trends. Thus, if any wide variances develop from forecasts, especially if expenditures were underestimated, control measures can be taken. If revenues increase or decrease, the profit forecasts can be adjusted between the annual budget planning sessions. Other major newspaper organizations operate on a similar basis because during the past 20 years managements have developed an acute awareness that their economic survival depends on better fiscal planning and management by objectives.

A "seat of the pants" business approach from the publisher's office has really gone the way of the horse and buggy. Even small community dailies, whether owned independently or by a group, have become subject to the same modern economic administration as larger newspapers and major businesses in other fields. Any other policy would jeopardize their position in what is a continuing battle to offset rising costs with revenue increases or production, distribution and administrative economies that will provide an adequate profit and still improve the quality of the news product.

Product quality is the key ingredient as more and more subscribers become one-newspaper readers. In this era of far-flung circulation routes, that one newspaper may be from a nearby city if the local paper fails to provide a quality product.

News-editorial costs, including page makeovers, are being scrutinized in relationship to profit objectives. Too often dictated to rather than consulted, news department managers are being tuned into the elements of financial planning. For many newspapers it is a new concept to relate news-editorial expenses to a percentage of income.

While some news managers may look on budget planning as a restriction on editorial freedom, a program of objectives, with guaranteed financial support, will enable editors to do a more efficient job in producing a quality product. Wasteful practices--in time, effort and money--will be abandoned. But not only the news department is affected. Every department executive and supervisor should be trained to become more budget-conscious.

The New York Times is a prime example of the transformation that is taking place. Since it offered stock to the public in 1967, the Times hasn't been the cozy family operation it was before then. Declining earnings the past few years provoked criticism and spurred publisher Arthur Ochs (Punch) Sulzberger to establish a fiscal planning task force. As he remarked, "We were drifting, but we really had not, as a management team, put any teeth into doing anything about it."[25] He recalled that when he joined the company in 1955 the Times had no budget. His father shared profit-and-loss figures with only three other executives because "it was no one else's business."[26]

Sulzberger said that when Turner Catledge was managing editor, he "would simply spend money until my father told him to hold back a little on hiring or other expenses." Now the news department must meet a budget, too.

And Wall Street security analysts have told Sulzberger to his face, "You are soft" in connection with his concessions to union wage demands.[27] This was after he agreed to a 42.69 per cent wage boost in union contracts in 1969. This cut into profits and the Times' common shares dropped to near their all-time lows. Only the acquisition of other properties helped the profit picture.

For instance, Sulzberger told the 1973 meeting of Times stockholders that of the $1.06 per share in 1972 earnings, the subsidiaries and newsprint operations contributed 52 cents, more than twice what they did in 1971. The Times contribution to net income was 54 cents a share, two cents less than in 1971.

With the proliferation of public stock offerings by newspapers, expansion of newspaper groups, and the records requirements of government agencies, the secrecy in which management formerly cloaked their fiscal operations rapidly is being lifted.

Wall Street analysts have become intimately familiar with newspaper revenues and costs since newspaper stocks became popular with sophisticated investors in the early 1970's.

The fiscal challenge to newspaper managements--and particularly those with public stock offerings--is reflected in the remarks of President Lee Hills to a meeting in 1972 of editors and general managers of Knight Newspapers, Inc.[28]

Hills described the Knight group as once being a loose and undisciplined federation of newspaper kingdoms, but added that since Knight management now is responsible to other stockholders, "our concept of placing more responsibility for decision-making on individual manageable units becomes more important. Today, the general managers...work with far clearer financial controls through budgeting, profit planning and general guidelines."

Hills maintained that newspaper ownership carried a responsibility for more than a balance sheet. He emphasized that while business operations can be measured, reporting, writing and editing are an art form, impossible to quantify and difficult to measure, and, he said:

"Reporting, interpreting and commenting on the news of human events are what newspapers are all about, making possible business success and, in turn, made possible by it. The manufacturing and marketing of a newspaper lend themselves readily to precise planning. The editorial function does not, although good planning and organization greatly enhance the probability of exceptional editorial performance."

Lee Hills thus outlined the ideal philosophy for newspaper ownership, whether it be independent, private groups or those with public stock participation. Unfortunately, the rapid expansion of some groups has made economic retrenchment necessary to meet profit goals and/or loan commitments. Often the editorial product has suffered, but this has been true, too, when independent operations were managed poorly or where there was no pride in producing quality news coverage.

The philosophy that newspaper ownership carries with it a responsibility that goes beyond making profits also has received judicial notice. The United States Tenth Circuit Court of Appeals, in a case involving The Denver Post and the Newhouse group of newspapers, commented that the obligation and duty of a newspaper is threefold: "to the stockholders, to the employees, and to the public."[29]

Samuel Newhouse, head of one of the largest newspaper-television-magazine groups in the country, bought an 18 per cent block of Post stock in 1960 and for the next ten years sought to obtain sufficient additional stock to gain control. Post directors maintained that a Newhouse takeover would be "detrimental to important corporate policies and traditions." Newhouse sued, charging them with mismanagement. He won a lower court decision, but it was reversed by the appellate court December 20, 1972.

Judge Delmas Hill wrote the court's opinion and said "we find nothing bad or sinister" because the Post directors "believed local independent ownership preferable to chain ownership." And, he added, besides making a profit, the newspaper "has an obligation to the public, that is the thousands of people who buy the paper, read it, and rely on its contents. Such a newspaper is endowed with an important public interest. It must adhere to the ethics of the great profession of journalism. The readers are entitled to a high quality of accurate news coverage of local, state, national and international events. The newspaper management has an obligation to assume leadership, when needed, for the betterment of the area served by the newspaper. Because of these relations with the public, a corporation publishing a great newspaper such as The Denver Post is, in effect, a quasi-public institution." He noted, too, that there was a further obligation to the great number of employees who made the publication possible.[30]

Judge Hill pointed out that the Post ranked fourth nationally in the volume of editorial space provided its readers and ranked first in the afternoon field. "These are only a few examples," he said, " of the officers and directors placing the public needs and good above the desire for profit."[31]

There is plenty of evidence that editorial excellence and adequate profits can go hand in hand. Still there is other evidence--and considerable talk among responsible, independent publishers--that the editorial product of some group newspapers has suffered because of the terrific drive for profits. Some group managers acknowledged they have little interest in the news content, only "the bottom line" or profit statement. And one independent publisher familiar with such operations said, "The general quality of the product on a large number of papers is something less than a credit to the profession."

There have been and always will be differences of opinion among managements, both public and private, as to the degree profits are related to editorial excellence. Nevertheless, in the highly competitive bid for the advertising dollar against broadcasters and other newspapers, quality news content makes the difference in public acceptance. And public acceptance is the key to profits.

"When a newspaper makes profit the only thing and attempts to maximize it, I am sure that the eventual result will be a poor product and possibly the extinction of the newspaper," in the view of Roy W. Anderson, general manager of the Baltimore News-American.[32]

His premise is that "a newspaper should have a profit plan that sets a percentage of profit and/or dollar goal. Within that profit goal, we have all the traditional targets for the newspaper. Journalism grows with quality people, not with quantity or mediocrity."

In the final issue of the New York Herald-Tribune, Publisher John Hay Whitney said in 1966, "Newspapers are a business and a business needs a profit to survive."[33]

For the New York Herald-Tribune, management by objectives--and profit-planning is the root of such objectives--came much too late. The problems that led to its demise developed long before Whitney took over. This newspaper rode the wave of its editorial reputation and gave too little attention to its obsolete production facilities and other economic infirmities.

The Herald-Tribune was just one of the many newspapers that failed outright, or were forced to merge with competing newspapers, because of a basic failure to set realistic objectives within the range of manageable economic resources.

One of the most typical examples of the failure of the newspaper industry to establish long-range management objectives was its slowness in embracing new technology. However, what new electronic equipment could do to cut costs and generate profits became a key factor in every management's planning program in the 1970's.

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IMPACT OF NEW TECHNOLOGY

Newspapers have been undergoing a technological revolution on a scale unprecedented in journalism history. Electronic equipment, which processes copy at speeds unimaginable just a few years ago, gave newspapers the first major advance in printing since Ottmar Mergenthaler invented the Linotype in 1884.

Newspapers spent $2 billion for new equipment and plant modernization in the 1960's, and 1973 expenditures for such improvements were running at the rate of nearly $300 million annually.

Every department was being transformed. Electric typewriters and video display terminals in the newsroom; optical scanners that "read" news and advertising copy and process it at speeds up to 500-700 lines a minute, compared to 10-20 by the hot metal type casting equipment; label and bundle processing in the mail room, and new types of plates for direct printing that eliminate the stereotype process. Photocomposition, a method of processing copy for both offset and letterpress printing, has given newspaper composing rooms a cleaner, brighter look.

Cumbersome hot metal typesetting machines and the fabrication of heavy lead printing plates through stereotyping have become obsolete and such equipment no longer is being manufactured. The trend is reflected in these statistics:[34]

During the past 10 years, nearly 50 per cent of the newspapers converted to photocomposition and more are making the transition every month. In 1972 alone, the number of newspapers using photocomposition equipment increased from 49 to 71 per cent. Whereas only about one per cent of the newspapers were using computers in the production department in 1962, more than 60 per cent had them in operation in 1973.

Photocomposition reduced production costs 25 to 35 per cent because it could process text material faster and required fewer people. For printers and others employed in what became known as "cold type" operations, it meant learning new skills, but these could be acquired much faster than in a "hot type" system. For the newspapers that converted from letterpress to offset publication or to direct printing from engraved plates, this eliminated the stereotype operation. These new printing systems were designed to provide better-looking newspapers, and the product quality of many offset newspapers matched that of magazines. In 1962, only one per cent of the newspapers utilized offset printing and they generally were in the under-35,000 circulation category. Ten years later, nearly 50 per cent printed by offset.[35] They included large publications such as the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, the St. Petersburg Times and Independent, and the Sacramento Union. Offset presses with speeds of 60,000-80,000 copies an hour are in the offing and more larger newspapers are likely to go this route.

Newspapers utilizing the shallow-relief plates, some metal and some plastic, for letterpress equipment also are growing, but more slowly as larger papers ponder whether to go offset or await development of better printing techniques.

One new technique on the horizon is printing without plates through the application of ink-jet technology. It can be developed within the next 10 years, members of the Scientific Advisory Committee of the American Newspaper Publishers Association said at a meeting in 1972 at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. An electronic press system with ink-jet printing would enable newspapers to make over pages--changing news copy and advertising for zones editions--without stopping the press.

Present letterpresses are a product of technology developed in the 19th century. And the scientists pointed out that the ink-jet concept is the first dramatic improvement proposed since then and that it is not far-fetched. They point out that the photo-image plastic and metal direct printing plate was developed seven years after it was first discussed.

Already, new technological processes have had a substantial economic impact, reducing production costs materially. For smaller newspapers, the conversion to offset meant outright survival. Some had experienced difficulty in getting skilled printers because of the exodus to urban areas and a lack of interest of younger people in becoming printers.

Work force reductions of as much as 50 per cent have been achieved in some composing rooms--generally those with no union contracts--as the result of conversion from hot type to photocomposition, known in the industry as cold type. And the Worcester (Mass.) Telegram and Gazette found that by investing $89,000 in an optical scanner it could eliminate 12 people who were paid $120,000 yearly for processing copy by punching it on tape.[37]

For larger newspapers, the technological transition caused problems because of union contracts. On the whole, though, newspapers generally have tried to work with the unions in retraining personnel in new processes and making staff reductions only through attrition--by retirements, transfer to other duties, or not filling vacancies.

The typographers' union foresaw early the dramatic changes ahead in printing technology. It was one of the pioneers in setting up retraining schools for its members. As a consequence, union representatives have taken strong stands to maintain their traditional jurisdiction over copy once it left the news or advertising departments. In New York City and some other areas, unions have had a virtual stranglehold in controlling introduction of new processes, thus barring newspapers from making realistic production economies.

Newspaper administrators, because of their dependence on skilled production workers, in the past often abdicated their management responsibilities at the bargaining table. The unions no longer have this edge. Now, any intelligent but unskilled person can be trained in a short time to operate modern newspaper production equipment.

Newspaper managements also are taking a different attitude in dealing with labor. It's a challenging, rather than tough or weak, posture, with the emphasis on improved productivity. The negotiation ball is being kept in the union court and supervisors are stimulated to key their efforts on work performance and not to let a contract become a crutch for weak supervision.

Production costs, as noted in the newspaper profiles (see page 11), are the major expense for smaller newspapers and are second to newsprint and ink on the larger newspapers. For all newspapers, introduction of the new technology has gone far to stem increases in production costs.

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GROWTH OF NEWSPAPER GROUPS

Two major developments reflect the current prosperity and changing character of the newspaper industry. One is the rapid growth of newspaper groups and the second is the availability to the public of stock investments in newspapers. In 1973, groups owned more than half of the nation's daily newspapers.

Groups have been a part of journalism since the days of Benjamin Franklin, one of the first group proprietors.[38] In 1910, there were only 13 groups but when World War II ended there were 76. The 1973 Editor & Publisher Yearbook listed 163 groups, but 69 of them represented owners who operated only two newspapers in separate cities.

Among the other 94 groups, 17 of them made stock available to the public. Two other companies, The Washington Post and American Financial Corp., owners of the Cincinnati Enquirer, also sold stock publicly, but had no other newspapers.

The 17 group ownerships in 1973 controlled more than 250 daily newspapers with more than 15,000,000 total circulation and more than 130 Sunday newspapers with more than 13,000,000 circulation. In 1972, 30 of the 50 dailies sold were acquired by groups and the trend continued in 1973.

The public offering of stock has been significant, if not as spectacular as the group movement. But one is linked to the other. As late as 1969, only three companies--The New York Times, Los Angeles Times-Mirror and Dow Jones--sold stock publicly. Since then 12 major companies have taken the step. Three of the largest groups, the Chicago Tribune Co., which has more circulation than any other; Newhouse, which is second; and Hearst Newspapers, ranking sixth, still were privately controlled in mid-1973. However, both the Tribune and Hearst organizations have been studying stock issue plans for several years.

There are more than 30 major organizations and smaller private groups seeking newspaper acquisitions. Some of these organizations have been endeavoring to establish a broader geographical base so that they, too, can "go public" if market conditions are favorable.

Robert L. Bishop of the University of Michigan journalism faculty predicted that "We are well on the way to wiping out independent ownership of both newspapers and television stations."[39]

Much of the trend has been caused by U.S. estate tax laws, which he said had created this situation:

"(1) Cross-media owners (holders of print and broadcast properties) control 36 per cent of all daily newspapers. They also own 25 per cent of TV stations, 8.6 per cent of AM radio, and 9.5 per cent of FM radio. Almost all of the AM stations are in the top 10 markets.

"(2) The combined holdings of groups, cross-media owners, conglomerates, and firms related to the mass media encompass 58 per cent of daily newspapers, 77 per cent of TV stations, 27 per cent of AM, and 29 per cent of FM stations."

Another professor, Raymond B. Nixon, in a study made while he was at the University of Minnesota, said, "It is the success of the local 'monopoly' newspapers that has led to the recent upsurge in growth of the newspaper 'groups.'[40]

"Since starting a new newspaper in even a medium-sized city these days requires far more investment and risk than starting a new radio or television station, the single surviving paper or combination of papers in an economically sound community has come to have far greater value. A few years ago the value of a successful daily in a 'monopoly' city usually was estimated at approximately $100 multiplied by the daily circulation as against $30 multiplied by circulation of a competitive daily."

In 1973, however, newspapers were sold for twice that $100 circulation multiple, or more in some cases.

There never have been consistent guidelines for calculating what a newspaper is worth. Since 1970, especially, record prices have been paid. Besides the circulation multiple, newspaper purchase prices range from two to five times revenue; the physical value of the property plus three times the net profit; ten to 25 times the net profit; or some combination of any of these factors.[41]

One illustration of what newspapers sell for came from the nation's leading analyst of newspaper investments, Lee Dirks.[42] This concerned the acquisition in 1972 of the Amarillo and Lubbock, Texas, dailies by Morris Communications, a private, Georgia-based group. Amarillo's combined daily circulation was 85,000, Sunday, 75,000; Lubbock's 83,000 combined and 70,000 Sunday. Morris paid $36,000,000 for the newspapers, which generated $14-15 million in annual revenue and earned $750,000 after taxes. Thus, the purchase price ran 2.5 times revenues and 48 times earnings. However, this was an unusual example where several organizations were bidding for the property.

A decade ago the purchase of newspapers for half this price seldom could be financed. Premium prices then were paid only by groups that accumulated earnings in the newspaper business and could avoid a tax on excess profits by purchasing like properties. When Wall Street became enamoured of newspaper investments, financing by banks and insurance companies became easier.

The basic reason for high purchase prices is the profit potential in an economically sound market. In such a market, the daily newspaper is the essential advertising medium of the substantial retail businesses of the community and is the primary source of news about local and regional events. From retail sales, merchants generally allocate one to one and one-half per cent to advertising and 30 per cent of all advertising dollars go into newspapers. The profitability aspect is reflected in the Kidder, Peabody analysis of publicly held companies. It showed that the average after-tax profit for 1971 was 8.4 per cent, up four-tenths of a percentage point over 1970.[43]

Every indication is that the bidding will continue to run high as independent ownerships become more scarce. Private owners are selling for various reasons, but one primarily is the problem of inheritance taxes. Another is the proliferation of family owners in one enterprise. When all can't agree on whether to stay in the newspaper business, or how it should be run, there is dissension. Often there are family members who want their money to invest in something in which they have a personal interest. Some newspapers are in trust and trust officers like to diversify their holdings. To do so, they are willing to sell the newspaper. Some owners simply want to sell because of the high prices being offered, either in cash or through an exchange of stock. Some remain to manage the property, become a consultant, go into some other business or retire.

And why the rush to buy newspapers? Ben Bagdikian, erstwhile reporter and newspaper executive, now author and critic of the press, summarizes these reasons:[44]

"First, they make lots of money. Second, they are going to make even more in the future because they are finally adopting 20th century production techniques--which, in an industry that spends 50 to 70 per cent of its budget on manpower, means an enormous savings. Third, for all practical purposes they are a limited commodity, like beachfront property, and as independent monopoly papers get more scarce their value goes up."

Bagdikian maintained that "most independent papers are mediocre or worse, just as most chain papers are (but) if one has to choose between the mediocre independent and a mediocre chain paper, the local independent has advantages. For one thing, it has more potential for diversity. And it is more likely to have a local owner with a stake in the community. He can have all the arrogance of a local duke but at least he's a local one who has to face his subjects and isn't an anonymous 'them' in a remote corporate headquarters. And when it comes to news and ideas, a mixed bag of local dukes is better than one national king."[45]

Generally, though, group acquisition of an independent will strengthen its operation by adding management expertise in marketing, product improvement and production. Besides tax and other problems of the declining newspaper family dynasties, another vital consideration prompting independents to sell has been the heavy capital outlay that is necessary to take advantage of technological advances in production techniques.

Independent owners take great pride in their newspapers and sell only with considerable reluctance. Often they insist on retaining top executive positions as a condition of sale. For most group ownerships, both public and private, such a condition is compatible with a philosophy that first-rate newspapers must be independently operated by people who live in the community and are responsive to community needs. Thus, with close hometown ties, management can utilize the expertise of group resources and better serve the community. Newspaper personnel and local investors also have the opportunity to purchase stock--to get a part of the action--in those groups offering stock publicly.

Going public has the principal advantage of providing cash to pay inheritance taxes with rates of up to 77 per cent for market value of $10 million or more. The disadvantages mean opening up your financial secrets, risking the hazards of stock market convolutions, and also becoming a target for public stockholders. Yet to raise capital through public subscription means taking these risks.

The advantages and hazards are illustrated by the experience of one of the two companies that went public in 1972. It was Harte-Hanks, a Texas-based group. At that time the company had physical assets and cash valued at $20 million after depreciation, and current liabilities and long-term debts of $14 million. The company and a group of private stockholders sold about 10 per cent of the outstanding stock for $7.6 million.[46]

When the stock was first traded in the over-the-counter market in March, 1972, it sold at $21 a share. As Harte-Hanks acquired more papers the stock went to $33 a share and the company obtained a listing on the New York Stock Exchange. By July, 1973, the stock had skidded 73 per cent to $9 a share.

Harte-Hanks wasn't alone, though, to feel the impact of market convolutions that depressed virtually all stocks sold on the New York and American exchanges and in the over-the-counter market. Speidel, with headquarters in Colorado, is a long-established group that also went public in 1972. That year it had the highest earnings of any publicly held newspaper company--30 per cent of income. Its over-the-counter offering initially sold for $18 a share and by July had slipped to $10, a drop of 44 per cent.

The other major publicly held newspaper companies also took a market battering during the first half of 1973. They were Booth, Dow Jones, Gannett, Knight, Lee Media General, Multimedia, New York Times, Ridder, Los Angeles Times-Mirror and Washington Post. The losses in this group ranged from as little as 20 per cent from their 1972 highs to as much as 60 per cent. Broadcast stocks also fell substantially during this period.

Despite this record, owners of the Boston Globe took an optimistic view of the market future. They offered a public stock issue in August after delaying it four months. On the other hand, Multimedia deferred indefinitely a supplemental stock issue.

Even as the market sagged for newspaper stocks, Lee Dirks wrote in May 1973 that "with certain exceptions, they fully qualify for membership in the 'growth-stock club' and offer exceptional value to value-conscious investors."

What happened to the market in 1972-73 is one of the reasons private group owners have shied away from public stock offerings. Even when a favorable Wall Street attitude toward newspaper stocks developed in the late 1960's and early 1970's, it wasn't smooth sailing for The New York Times or another publicly held company, Cowles Communications. Both suffered from sagging profits.

In a period of three years, Cowles closed its Suffolk (L.I.) Sun, after losing an estimated $15 million in a competitive battle with Newsday, abandoned another loser, Look magazine, then sold a newspaper in San Juan, P.R., to Scripps-Howard.

To bolster its own profits, the Times bought from Cowles three Florida dailies, Family Circle, a magazine distributed in chain stores, and a Memphis television station. Now Cowles is an investment company with substantial voting stock in The New York Times.

After the Suffolk Sun folded in 1969, one Wall Street analyst commented:[47] "In the past, it seemed that Cowles Communications was being run solely to satisfy the whims of Mike (Gardner) Cowles and the men around him. The close-down of the Sun was the first sign I've seen that management has started to think of its shareholders and make hard financial decisions that a publicly held company must make."

Those hard decisions have become basic policy with the publicly held newspaper companies. Despite the gyrations of the stock market in 1973, all were profitable, and Dirks reported that "in the first quarter... the newspaper companies continued to outperform industry as a whole in earnings improvement."

Newspaper stocks, like other industries on the market, were victims primarily of the fickleness of institutional traders who bought and sold large blocks of such stocks.

Investments by such groups, as well as by the public generally, have raised questions as to the possible influence stockholders might seek to exert on news-editorial or advertising policies of publicly held newspapers. Some critics of groups have asked whether persistent government attacks or challenges could affect the stock.

Other questions include: What happens to news-editorial quality if shareholders scream for a profit when the economy is depressed? Or would profits suffer in any event in an independent operation if revenues dropped? Or what would happen in a proxy fight if a minority group of stockholders sought to gain control of a rich publishing business? Or if the banks and insurance companies--many of them stockholders or lenders--exert pressure if profits drop and loan commitments can't be paid on schedule? Or would they try to influence investigative reporting that could turn up information detrimental to their operations?

As for government pressures--and in recent years they have been emanating from the White House and Congress under both Republican and Democratic administrations--there has been no evidence they influenced stock prices or editorial integrity. To the contrary, John S. Knight, editorial chairman of Knight Newspapers, pointed out editorially that vigorous opposition to the Vietnam War brought Knight Newspapers in direct conflict with four Presidents since 1954--Eisenhower, Kennedy, Johnson and Nixon.

The Washington Post, which owns broadcast properties which are vulnerable to federal licensing, and Newsweek magazine, carried on a relentless campaign to uncover the Watergate scandal in 1972 and 1973, unawed by government pressures. It also risked along with The New York Times and Los Angeles Times serious legal jeopardy by publishing the Pentagon papers.

And, as Katherine Graham, chairman of the Post, said: "We might have shied away from those burdens if the Post were financially shaky, or concerned mostly about short-run gains on the balance sheet."

Some dissident stockholders have appeared at annual meetings of both the Post and New York Times. At the Times' 1973 annual meeting, a stockholder complained that its reporting of the Vietnam POWs was biased and called for the resignation of those responsible.

Such stockholder critics pose no major threats to managements that offer two types of stock, one with full voting rights and another with limited or no voting rights. Public stockholders often can buy only the non-voting type. Even newspapers that offer stock publicly and to their employees, with full or limited voting rights, have thus far retained ample voting margin for management control.

Other major questions concerning public ownership of newspaper stocks have yet to be answered. However, the president of Media General, Alan Donnahoe, maintained that public ownership of stock eventually will give "us more profitable newspapers because stockholders won't stand for the sloppiness and inefficiency of some publishers who now are answerable to nobody except themselves."[48]

With the absorption of independently-owned newspapers into groups, though, some observers see a possible threat of some form of government restrictions on the number of newspapers a group could control. Bagdikian, for one, raises the possibility that Congress could limit the number of papers any corporate entity could control--as the government now limits the number of television stations under one ownership.[49] However, he acknowledges that, "given the winning ways publishers have with members of Congress this is unlikely." Another vital point would be how such restrictions could be sustained under the First Amendment.

Despite the protection of newspapers by the Constitution, there is always a possibility, depending on the climate of public opinion, of growing political interference with newspaper operations. And independent pollsters have detected among the public a general skepticism of "press credibility."

Professor Nixon outlined the prospects in these words:[50]

"Only by continuing to perform a vital function for its readers and advertisers can any self-supporting newspaper--independent or chain-owned, competitive or 'monopoly'--hope to prosper. If the relative calm that has accompanied the recent expansion of national chains means that U.S. citizens now accept their group-owned papers as responsible members of the community, then we can expect the chains to expand even further. On the other hand, if the lack of more widespread opposition to local 'monopolies' and chain ownership indicates that the U.S. public has come to look upon newspapers as simply another form of commercial enterprise, and not an essential quasi-public institution, then new types of economic regulation may be expected. Indeed, the next period in the history of the U.S. press may be one of 'increasing economic restrictions,' and it may come well before 1983."

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INFORMATION--STILL THE LIFEBLOOD OF THE NEWSPAPER

Information--both news and advertising--is the lifeblood of the newspaper. Freedom of the Press was given constitutional status because the Founding Fathers viewed it as vital to the public interest. Priority should be given to the coverage of news to fulfill the newspaper's obligation under the First Amendment.

Ben Bagdikian points out that, "In the United States the role of the press is assumed to be an independent monitor of the environment, and since it cannot be an instrument of government, it has evolved as a private enterprise. This means that the press can survive only if it shows a profit, which influences its behavior and is a force shaping its future."[51]

Monitoring the environment--or keeping a finger on the public and political conscience--is one of the unique responsibilities faced by no other institution in the United States. That is why the freedom that the press should exercise to carry out that responsibility makes it so vulnerable to criticism from politicians and the public.

Leo Bogart of the Newspaper Advertising Bureau tells why this responsibility is as paramount in this century and beyond as it was nearly 200 years ago:[52]

"One great danger we face in our century is the public feeling that events are beyond control, that the individual is powerless to offset the march of history. The newspaper has the unique ability to view with alarm, to create issues and to offer plans for positive action. Thus it offers links between the people's own individual and private interests and those which they share with the rest of society."

Without a sound financial basis, newspapers could not spend the money they now do to cover the news of every aspect of society. And in covering that news, especially in the fields of politics, government and corporate affairs, newspapers must have the economic independence to resist the pressures that come from these, other special interest groups, and even their advertisers.

Journalism history shows that without economic independence, where there is a subsidized press, newspapers either are weak, venal or both. This is true still in many areas of the world and was a part of this nation's journalism history through much of the 1800's.

What it costs to provide the scope, depth and comprehension of news coverage which only newspapers can produce for the public varies with the size of newspaper and its market area. For newspapers with foreign as well as domestic staffs, the news-editorial budget will run into millions of dollars.[53] For our average 35,000-circulation newspaper, it will cost annually $400-$500 thousand, and for the 250,000-circulation daily, $1,750,000 to $2,500,000. These figures include the charges for press association and other special news-editorial features. The Associated Press and United Press International in 1972 spent an estimated $120-$125 million for world-wide news coverage.

As noted earlier, personnel makes up 70 per cent of the total news/editorial expense, and as the quality of personnel improves, higher salaries are paid to recognize performance and to counter inflation trends.

The economics of the newsroom also are affected by other departments. When the advertising department has special, zoned or regional editions, there must be close coordination with the news, circulation and production departments to schedule a smooth flow of copy to avoid peak production loads that result in expensive overtime costs.

And with the advent of new technology, most newspapers need better planning to coordinate all functions. This is known as a scientific "systems approach," but it doesn't mean the adoption of any one system. Each newspaper should design a system to its own particular needs.

Because of inherited traditions that no longer exist, except in a few cities, or have any reason for existing, internal planning as far as news departments are concerned has been virtually non-existent. With the new technology most of the old systems have become obsolete.

The new equipment--electric typewriters, optical scanners and video display tubes--are no substitute for the human brain. Editors still have to use their heads to check reporting details, sharpen up writing and improve the editing they formerly did with a pencil or left to the wire services. And it will continue to be the mission of educators to graduate literate students who can produce quality copy.

While electronic equipment and photocomposition give the news departments added flexibility and speed, they also impose new demands--the chief of which is accuracy. Corrections are slower and more difficult to make in cold type than hot metal processing.

Better planning also will be necessary to make more pages good for all editions. Otherwise, production costs will get out of line since direct printing plates are more costly than duplicate plates that are stereotyped. In other words, old habits such as making over a page to change a head style from roman to italics must be eliminated. A recent survey of a medium-sized daily showed that page costs averaged $37.95, including makeovers. And makeovers represented about a third of the total page expense.[54]

Efforts have been made to determine standards for measuring page costs for comparative purposes and news-editorial costs per column. The Inland Daily Press Association has established certain standards, but not all newspapers furnish comparable data. One-edition newspapers have the lowest page costs because they rarely have makeovers.

There are now no general guidelines as to what a newspaper should invest in acquiring information. In practice, budgets allocate eight to ten per cent of total revenues for newsrooms of large metropolitan newspapers, 11-13 per cent for those in the medium range and 13-15 per cent for smaller papers.

Better planning, though, on most newspapers would enable news departments to make better use of their budget resources. Editors and business managements should first decide on their goals--whether to provide a quality news product with the expense of investigative reporting and other in-depth coverage, or to sacrifice quality for quantity as is now done on too many newspapers.

Advertising also is an essential ingredient of the information provided by a newspaper. It maintains a competitive system of commerce and is vital to supporting economically sound newspapers. Still, to the advertiser the return on his investment is only as good as the product the reader is willing to pay for.

Some advertisers have tried to go it alone on television and radio or in free circulation "shopper" papers. Most found that those outlets did not provide them with sufficient exposure to get an adequate share of the market. What major retail advertisers usually do is focus on newspapers and use television and radio as supplemental media. On the other hand, when national brand names are being promoted--be it toothpaste, detergents, breakfast food or automobiles--advertisers give top priority emphasis to the broadcast market.

In the past, there have been efforts to make a success of ad-less newspapers. All have failed. The most notable was the experiment of the late Marshall Field with PM in New York City in 1940. He brought in Ralph Ingersoll, who achieved fame with Time magazine, to give the PM tabloid publication intelligent writing, excellent pictures and interpretative appeal. PM operated for six years without ads, published an interesting product, but regularly lost money. In 1946, PM began accepting advertising, but by then it did not have a broad enough readership to provide a market for advertisers. Because it continued to lose money, Field disposed of the paper in 1948. It appeared for one year as the Star, then it became the Compass before it folded.

Newspapers bring the market place to the reader through advertisements. What's available at the food stores, furniture and appliance dealers, amusement centers or in the classified ads--and at what price--is news. Readership studies have shown that advertisements consistently score high ratings, often attracting more attention than news items on the same page.

Information from news and ads is the lifeblood of the newspaper, but more emphasis should be put on quality of news coverage to hold readers and to attract new subscribers. For many publishers, this may mean earmarking more money for news-editorial operations. For their own future, though, this could be a wise investment to inspire reader confidence and ward off "political interference."

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ROLE OF RESEARCH AND PROMOTION

Newspapers in primary markets, especially those in what are known to advertisers as the "top 50," continually seek ways to better define their market potential. They want reliable data to give them a profile of their subscribers. Their ages, sex, consumer interests, whether they drink whisky or beer--and what brands--or are abstainers. How much leisure time they have and how they spend it--on the golf course, traveling, boating, gardening or what-not.

Computers make possible the rapid assimilation and categorization of such data, which is invaluable in selling advertising. The market area is that territory from which people come to make purchases in the community where the newspaper is located. And a definition of that area enables circulation to focus its sales effort to add subscribers and determine the best strategy for enlarging the area in order to attract more subscribers. The news department also benefits from the compilation of a profile of readership interests.

All of this is part of a research function that plays a vital role in management planning for newspapers in cities with populations of 100,000 and more. Smaller newspapers also are devoting more attention to research in order to persuade national advertisers that their markets should get more or larger ad schedules.

For management planning, newspapers should utilize the same techniques as the utility companies. That is to determine by sound research how their area is growing and where. What will be needed in five or ten years in additional press capacity, more circulation routes and more equipment to make truck deliveries? Information such as this makes for intelligent advance economic planning.

"Sound analysis and coordination can save untold time, money and effort," writes Paul S. Hirt, promotion manager for the Chicago Sun-Times.[55] "It can make the difference between years of frantic application of unrelated palliatives to an ailing newspaper, or its quick and continuing success."

"The 'whole newspaper' is not editorial brilliance alone; not only advertising excellence; not only circulation expertise by itself. Instead, it is: an interacting editorial/advertising/circulation operation growing out of the fulfillment of special social service functions, applied to a specific geographic, demographic and economic base--the market the newspaper serves."

In the process, Hirt adds, the research seeks out "untapped areas of editorial, advertising and circulation potential."

A distinction should be made between research and promotion, even on some newspapers where they are part of one operation. The role of research is to gather information and analyze it. From the research a master plan can be developed based on hard facts, not mere assumptions. Promotion then becomes the catalyst to implement the plan.

Hirt found that many newspapers lack an understanding as to the use of research to enable them to emphasize how their local penetration of households dominates the fragmented audiences of other media--radio, television, regional issues of magazines, outdoor advertising, etc.

A number of newspapers, though, have begun to utilize their computer resources to map the geographic segments of their markets. Newsday updates weekly its list of subscribers, but also records the households of non-subscribers. Under a Total Market Distribution plan, Newsday provides preprint advertisers 100 per cent coverage of its Long Island market. The preprints not delivered with the newspaper are mailed to non-subscribers.

More reporters and editors also need a better understanding of the interlocking effects of research and promotion.

"Some editorial people seem to be unaware of this need," Hirt said.[56] "They appear to think that the newspaper is self-evident, that it explains itself and sells itself; that having a 'good editorial product' is all that is necessary to insure automatic growth. This attitude has to be bled out of the fledgling news people if tomorrow's newspapers are to flourish."

In the research field, reporters should have a basic understanding--they need not become polling experts--as to how public opinion surveys are conducted and what the variables are in measuring their accuracy. Such surveys, with questions properly phrased, sampling areas scientifically selected and the results properly analyzed, can reflect a fairly accurate cross-section of public thinking on a wide variety of subjects. Surveys also can be valuable in comparing local opinion with trends reflected in national polls, to ascertain buyer habits and to measure readership of the newspaper's features.

A "how-to-do-it" manual for editors and reporters on gathering such material has been prepared by Philip Meyer, national correspondent for Knight newspapers. "Precision Journalism: A Reporter's Introduction to Social Science Methods" came out in cloth and paperback form in 1973.[57] In it he gives specific details for validating sample sizes, phrasing questions, training interviewers, sampling public records, and analysis. The book contains samples of polls and surveys. The American Newspaper Publishers Association's News Research Center also prepared for newspapers a booklet on how to conduct a readership survey of features.

Journalism educators, in dealing with the newspaper as a total concept, should have a better understanding of the roles of research and of promotion in relationship to the economics of newspaper administration.

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SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The newspaper business is a unique business. It ranges in size from the Mart Herald in Texas, 1,050-plus subscribers, to the Daily News in New York City which sells more than 2,000,000 copies daily and 3,000,000 on Sunday. Advertising and circulation rates vary according to the size of the market where the newspaper is distributed.

The character of the newspaper publishing industry is changing--and rapidly--as it has achieved a prosperity unforeseen 20 years ago and is recognized by investment analysts as being economically sound.

Four primary factors brought about this turnabout in newspaper fortunes from the 1950's and 1960's: (1) Only 55 cities have two or more daily newspapers under separate ownership and in 21 of them joint operating agreements are in effect, enhancing their profitability; in 1,509 cities, single newspapers or morning-evening combinations are under one ownership and compete with no other daily newspaper, although in 1973 they vied for the advertising dollar with neighboring newspapers, 922 television stations, 7,331 AM-FM radio stations, with cable systems serving 6,041 communities and with 8,000-plus other newspapers of less than daily circulation;[58]

(2) better economic planning, cost-control procedures, programs for market growth, and more realistic rates for advertising and circulation have enabled the industry to cope with constant cost increases; (3) new technology, conversion from slower, more expensive hot metal type processing to photocomposition on paper or film, and modernization of other plant facilities to achieve optimum productivity have effected substantial economies, but higher newsprint and ink costs took a big bite out of the savings; and (4) professional managers have been brought into the industry. These managers recognize that publishing is a business as well as an art. The new breed of newspaper publishers applied scientific economic principles to a business that in times past was run by whim and intuition--demonstrating at the same time that profitability and editorial excellence and integrity go hand in hand.

Much of the new economic reality has been injected by the proliferation of publicly held companies and non-public groups where management is responsible to outside stockholders.

For journalism education, the changing character of the newspaper business requires curriculum revision to prepare faculty and students for this new era of journalism. A better understanding of the economics of newspaper publishing is vital. For far too long there has been a lack of awareness among young people entering journalism as to the reasons newspapers must be economically sound and independent of any outside pressures as well as having an obligation to the public that goes beyond the balance sheet.

Some of the basics as to the "economics of the press" can be incorporated into courses currently available to undergraduates and can be given more detailed emphasis in graduate work. Journalism and business schools should cooperate in training talent for newspapers. More reporters and future editors should have an understanding of how to read a balance sheet, of budget procedures and the principles of market research. All of these subjects are involved in coverage of government activities and business affairs--and knowledge of them would provide students with a better understanding of newspaper economics. Fiscal planning now is part of every newspaper department and there are growing opportunities for graduates with basic education in journalism and a grasp of key business principles.

For journalism education in the seventies and beyond, this means a new emphasis in the curriculum. It means teaching that newspapers cannot be free unless they are independent, that they cannot be independent unless they are successful business enterprises, and that they cannot be successful unless they serve the public need. Such teaching will require men of experience and journalism schools will have to draw on the newspaper business for much of this talent.

Such realistic teachers also could provide students with a better understanding of the role of management and the interdependence of newspaper operations--no matter whether their primary fields of interest be news, advertising, circulation, production or administration. With the advent of electronic copy processing units in the newsroom as well as production departments, new technology is now one of the vital journalism tools of the future.

Dramatic changes have taken place in newspaper journalism in the past decade. More are on the horizon. How they are implemented will involve fundamental economic, technical and professional decisions involving preparation and processing of news and advertising copy.

The costs of acquiring information and distributing it to the public will continue to grow, but many newspapers have been doing a better job of economic planning in order to finance coverage that fulfills the press' obligations under the First Amendment.

Just as journalism schools became communication schools to educate young people in the arts of radio and television broadcasting--and now cable television--they face a new responsibility: To develop new perspectives and teaching objectives for the news-business-technological evolution in the newspaper industry.

Implementation of this responsibility could presage a new era in journalism education. The goals are two-fold, equal and paramount in importance: (1) To provide a comprehensive understanding of the economic factors that are essential for the preservation of newspaper independence; and (2) To inspire quality reporting, writing and editing that will develop editorial excellence to fulfill the newspaper's obligation to serve the people.

This obligation was engraved in the words of the Continental Congress in 1774 in prescribing press liberty as one of the five invaluable rights without which people cannot be free. It said the importance of an independent press consisted of "the advancement of truth, science, morality, and arts in general, and in the diffusion of liberal sentiments on the administration of government, the ready communication of thought between subjects, and the consequential promotion of union among them whereby oppressive officers are shamed or intimidated into more honorable or just modes of conducting affairs."

FOOTNOTES

[1] Prof. Raymond B. Nixon, "Trends in U.S. Newspaper Ownership: Concentration with Competition," *The Gazette* (1968, as reprinted by ANPA Foundation, Jan. 1969), p. 4.

[2] Herbert Brucker, "Is The Press Writing Its Obituary?", *Saturday Review* (April 25, 1959), p. 9.

[3] U.S. Department of Commerce, "Printing and Publishing," *U.S. Industrial Outlook* (Dec. 1972), p. 428.

[4] *Editor & Publisher Yearbook, 1973*, p. 11.

[5] "Newspapers with Coffee--Still Around In 1990?", a study by the Battelle Memorial Institute, Columbus, O., for North American Rockwell's MGD Graphic Systems, *Printing Management* (May 1971), pp. 50-51.

[6] Kidder, Peabody & Co., Research Dept. Analysis of Newspaper Industry (Nov. 22, 1972), p. 5.

[7] Nixon, p. 4.

[8] U.S. Supreme Court Decision, Citizen Publishing Co. et al vs. United States (March 10, 1969).

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A Paper Supporting Proposition #16: New Technology

To prepare journalism students for newspaper journalism, journalism schools must provide them with working knowledge of the new technology.

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The electronic revolution is starting to invade newsrooms.

It is bringing an exciting echo of the early days when a newspaperman was a one-man gang who reported, wrote, then set his own type with complete control over what he was putting into his newspaper columns.

It is making possible speedy conversion of news material from reporter's notebook to the reader's page through a clean new world of OCRs, CRTs, computers, coding and other baffling terminology.

It is going into operational use with such speed that in many cases newspapers are holding as many training classes for their news and other personnel as nearby journalism departments are holding for their undergraduates.

It is producing relatively error-free phototype at speeds of 50, 75 to 150 and more lines a minute. It offers an almost unlimited capacity to mix type styles and sizes. It permits in many cases instant recall of news stories for editing or updating or typesetting on editors' instructions.

It is reducing costs and eliminating some production jobs but creating others and putting newsmen into some of the pilot's seats.

What is involved basically are four pieces of electronic equipment:

1. Computers, the heart of electronic systems.
2. Video display terminals (VDTs), which also are known sometimes as cathode ray tubes (CRTs).
3. Electric typewriters equipped with a special type face and ribbon.
4. Scanners, sometimes called OCRs or optical character recognition units.

The computers, in an eye wink's time, perform a range of functions from calculating how to space and where to hyphenate words for required line lengths to storing and retrieving stories electronically.

The VDTs, becoming increasingly familiar in many areas from the ticketing desks in airline terminals to the supply departments of factories, are simply typewriter keyboards with function keys added in front of a small television-like screen.

The terminals permit easy adding or deleting of letters, words, sentences, and paragraphs, changing caps to lower case, bold face to light or vice versa. In some cases they permit moving whole sections of a story.

The terminals are being used primarily, in or for newsrooms, to edit and proofread, but in some cases reporters write their stories on them.

The electric typewriters produce copy suitable for optical scanning.

The OCRs are units for a key step in processing. They convert certain typing into electronic signals which farther along the line are sent to computer storage or are turned into tape phototype or hot type.

Although these are the basic elements, the key word for production systems in the new technological age is flexibility. A paper can put all its stories into a computer system through video display terminals. Or it can go the OCR route, producing news and editorial copy with special electric typewriters using carbon ribbons an a single type font. Or it can combine CRTs and OCRs as some newspapers are doing and more are planning to do.

Whether CRT, OCR or a combination, a newspaper may arrange to store electronically wire news and locally produced material (as well as advertising and set formats for both news and advertising) for recall at any time to edit or put into tape form or set into type.

With variables in systems there are also variables in philosophy, application and responsibility.

Who will type on copy prepared for OCRs the corrections and codes instructing the electronic system as to type size, width and format? Who will sit at the keyboard of the CRTs? Will some copy, once edited to final form, have to be rekeyed?

The answers vary widely, depending on needs, budget, union and other limitations, but newsmen are and will be deeply involved.

One answer may be found in our operation in Richmond. There, an engineering-production team had developed a sophisticated electronic system to produce a statistically-oriented financial newspaper. The dailies had gradually increased the use of cold type before the typographical union went on strike March 31, 1971.

Six months later a system was planned incorporating both OCRs and CRTs. Basically, the OCR is the processor for locally produced stories originating in some 150 electric typewriters in the competing morning and afternoon newsrooms. The VDTs are primarily for processing wire service stories.

To get the system established and proven without newsroom disruption and to get the maximum use of available VDTs, a News Processing Unit was set up. It serves the separate news departments of both dailies with a keyboarding pool by coding and correcting for OCR copy, initial typing of non-OCR copy from state bureaus and other sources, and handling the VDTs for correcting wire copy.

In this Phase I or beginning stage of establishing the system there is a basic philosophy for the newsroom: traditional processes remain intact as far as possible and purposeful.

On this basis, reporters type as before, but on electric rather than manual keyboards. They type information for the desk (edition, day or date, slug, story number) horizontally rather than vertically but on copy books similar to those long used. Desk personnel edit as before but, on OCR copy, with a non-scan pen instead of with a black pencil. On wire copy, procedures are unchanged in this phase.

The approach is gradual but, more important, the editor and writer are urged to concentrate on content. Thus, communication with the reader through proper coverage, accuracy, clarity of writing and answering the reader's normal questions remains the newsroom essential.

Interested and eager news personnel learn OCR coding as they want to for such uses as bold face type on names in a regular column. They incorporate the coding if they want to, but their basic assignment is content.

Personnel also may learn to operate CRTs when they want to - and they do. With a completed system, news personnel will have an opportunity to utilize CRTs in some cases for direct editing when they initiate and justify the operation.

In Providence, R.I., and some other cities, copy editors are typing the corrections and coding in the stories prepared for OCR processing. In others, a typist works in conjunction with a copy desk to type the codes and corrections.

In Associated Press offices throughout the country, newsmen originate stories on CRT keyboards. In at least one, equipped with both CRTs and facsimile machines for transmitting news stories to a regional traffic hub, the newsmen much prefer the keyboard, which saves a rekeying step along the line. In New York and at other major points in AP's system, news editors revise stories on display terminals, then send them out on a myriad of wires to member newspapers. United Press International likewise utilizes video display terminals because they can move electronic signals quickly from city to city with amazing accuracy.

The new technology is moving quickly into newspapers of all sizes, often on classified first. But news operations are increasingly involved.

At the Detroit News (circulation 650,000), with new production facilities nearly 25 miles from the news offices downtown, writers and editors are using video display terminals to write and edit stories for transmittal to the distant composing room. Scanners process stories from bureaus into the main newsroom.

Of contrasting size, the Taylorville (Ill.) Breeze-Courier (circulation 8,300), for one example, employs both scanner and terminal. The Miami Herald (circulation 393,000) is scanning all news copy and working terminals into the news operation.

The Daytona Beach (Fla.) Journal (circulation 37,000) and News (circulation 30,000) process copy through scanners and edit on CRTs. The Farmington (N.Mex.) Times (circulation 9,000) has a similar system.

The Augusta (Ga.) Chronicle (circulation 48,000) and Herald (circulation 20,000) do final editing on CRTs.

A number of papers, in such widespread cities as Worcester, Mass., Long Beach, Calif., Battle Creek, Mich., Montgomery, Ala., Boston, Mass., Trenton, N.J., Milwaukee, Wisc., and Kansas City, Mo. use scanners. Cocoa (Fla.) Today (circulation 50,000) is equipping all its reporters and editors with terminals for writing and editing.

The list continues to grow as decisions are made and equipment becomes available.

More newspapers will move into scanner use with the spread of new wire service teletypes adapted to produce scanner-ready copy instead of standard teletype hard copy.

Overall, the changes are bringing about a new and closer relationship between newsroom and composing room. In some instances a completely integrated system will give the newsroom control over its production. Newsmen will set and carry out priorities by determining what stories it is committing to the system and when they are committed.

But this is only Phase I. The potential of manipulating electronic signals is eye-opening. Consider: When and if the economics can be worked out, newspapers could transmit their edited stories to AP for quick editing perhaps on a terminal without the present need to rekey the story. News put in electronic storage during a cycle could be retrieved and selected for library filing subject to later retrieval by newsmen checking the files on a terminal screen. At hand also is computer-assisted page layout for advertising. News layout will not be far behind.

The present situations are indications of transition. If war is hell, transition is heck and involves problems.

The biggest in the newsroom may be deadlines. In most but not all cases I've checked, newsroom deadlines are earlier than they were. In some cases, slight alterations have been made. But in others the deadline change has been drastic as a paper switched to cold type -- and perhaps plastic plates at the same time. As papers acquire on-the-job experience in the new processes and as on-time press starts again become routine, news executives move their deadlines nearer to normal.

In the electronic age, a newsman is urged to think in terms of throughput time (in effect from the time a reporter starts typing until the press turns out his story) instead of in terms of process segments. If he or she doesn't think this way, he becomes discouraged by the fact that paste-up takes longer in cold type than in hot type and the new plate-making process of any kind may take a little longer than the old stereotype method.

A second hangup may be mental attitude, as Robert Hudson, managing editor of the Tampa Tribune points out. Staff members "have to become mentally adjusted" to matters of coding for scanner processing, he said, and some find it difficult because they "don't understand the nitty-gritty's importance in newspaper work."

Some newsmen and educators fear a third possible hangup: inhibition on creativity.

Discussion with a number of writers who use electric typewriters for scanner processing indicates that this may be partly true, especially at first, and may depend on circumstances, including a newsroom's policy and attitude.

Is normal revision by writers encouraged? Is hard editing urged? Is a system set up so the creative person doesn't have to worry about making changes? Or are revisions limited?

One writer told me he had a little trouble with his typewriter at the outset because it was the first electric one he had used. "Now," he said, "if I'm outside and have to use a manual it's like walking through cold molasses."

A young woman writer said that after two months she found typing on the electric normal and natural and felt no inhibitions in creative writing.

Another reporter thought he had become a more careful typist and missed his old habit of x-ing out false starts and wrong words, but he considered that no major block.

A colleague of his said he still had to be aware of changing copy sets frequently and keeping inside margins, a couple of factors he thought troublesome on particularly creative work. "No problem on routine material, though," he concluded.

A columnist nearing 70 loves to write on his electric typewriter, long since overcame most feelings of restraint in the typing, and regularly follows his column through each step of the process including, when any are necessary, corrections.

The consensus of a non-scientific sampling seemed to be that familiarity with the typewriter had conquered fears and most but not always all creative inhibitions.

This look at existing and proposed electronic systems for newspapers suggests that the marvelous new devices have given us speed, cleaner type, flexibility and possible economy.

But to work, they need direction - intelligent human direction.

Before the newsman or newswoman can usefully change from manual to electric typewriters for scanner processing or before he or she can profitably punch the keys of a CRT, the machines have to be adapted to the news production job by development of a production system.

For this, electronic experts - systems developers and programmers - are required. Some are factory men; some are outside specialists; some are retrained newspaper production men.

But even at this stage of planning and development, the newsmen may get their first opportunity to work with the system. News personnel can share in the planning with their solid knowledge of what the news departments want and need, with typical newsmen's inquisitiveness focusing on new equipment and with a long-range idea, even if vague, of how newspaper production needs to change down the road. They can help draw up requirements for type, point sizes, column measures, and headline styles. They can outline specifications for run-arounds, indentions, bold read-ins and other sometimes attractive typographical devices. They can also shape requirements for agate staples like basketball and baseball box scores and for league standings in the proliferation of sports.

With these they can help and challenge the systems experts and programmers who know or quickly learn the inner workings of the new equipment and can advise the news planners of any limitations, temporary or long-range.

In addition, news personnel can help plan and set up procedures for the most effective and speedy handling of news copy.

Thus, the new equipment with its bright lights and speed is basically little more than sophisticated and complex tools to help newspaper writers, editors, typographers and pressmen do a better job more quickly.

Electronics will not report, write, or edit.

The electronic devices are to news people what an inland stream flowing toward the ocean is to a boat: a channel through which a person may direct a well-constructed product smoothly and quickly to its destination.

In either case, what reaches the destination is no better than its construction and guidance by humans.

In computer group terms, we are concerned with input, throughput, and output.

The reporter and editor are responsible for the input. Electronics will not improve it. Basic to the whole philosophy of the new technology is that little is changed in newsroom principles: sound reporting, clear writing and accuracy still count above all.

After that, throughput, as indicated above, is a matter of time, deadlines and economics: the time it takes to get a story through the system from its origin to its printing.

Output is the completed story in the form of tape or electronic signals, type and printing.

Overall, the result can be increased efficiency at a reduced production cost.

When the system has been developed, to what extent is the newsroom involved in Phase II, the more sophisticated phase when hard-wiring, electronic storage and retrieval increase the system's flexibility?

This may vary, depending on a newspaper's organization, background, and limitations.

But cut through the present and projected systems and you find for the newsrooms:

1. Staff members keyboarding input, which is to say typewriting either with the traditional manual typewriter or with a special electric typewriter or directly on a video terminal keyboard.

2. Editors editing either with the traditional black pencil or with a non-scan ink pen or with the keyboard of a video display terminal.

3. Someone - reporters, editors, deskmen, clerks, typists or processors of some kind - typing code commands and corrections on typewriters or on video terminal keyboards.

The appearance of the newsroom may have changed - more offices, perhaps wall-to-wall carpeting, possibly distant electronic storage replacing the wire room - but the essential functions of the news personnel have not.

As one newsman put it, "I like what I hear about the new technology; it helps us all along the line but doesn't displace the writer or editor."

* * *

How should journalism schools keep up with the new developments?

Some have long been involved in working on computer applications on such matters as processing election results and theorizing on formulas for automated editing.

Now, the new age fascinates budding journalists exposed to it. Students in a newspaper management course I taught last year visited a newspaper scanner operation, studied the theory and application of it and of video terminals and wound up planning how to use them and how to make them pay on theoretical newspapers.

As electronic processing becomes widespread reality, practical and immediate training seems highly advisable.

To what extent?

"As much as possible," says Robert Hudson, managing editor of the Tampa Tribune. "That's how they're going all over the country. The coding will vary from paper to paper, but students should be mentally adjusted to the situation."

Joseph Ungaro, managing editor of the Providence (R.I.) Bulletin, which has a scanner operation, suggests: "They ought to teach a course that gives an understanding of the new technology, what the equipment will do and what the goal is. In five years a journalism graduate applying for newspaper work without knowledge of CRTs and OCRs will be like someone applying now who can't type."

Says Lawrence Newman of the Dayton Daily News, former vice chairman of the Associated Press Managing Editors New Technology Committee: "If a J-school I know is a barometer, I think we need to be concerned. They don't believe the new equipment will be widespread within 10 years. Schools ought to teach at least the elementary use of the electric typewriter, a working knowledge of what the OCR is about, application of the computer and the concept of editing on CRTs. The students might need that knowledge even applying for their first jobs."

Allan Lazarus, managing editor of the Shreveport (La.) Times, commented: "Journalism students ought to learn at least basic information about CRTs and scanners. After all, that's the way the papers are going and that way they'll be with it. The old time methods are out."

Robert J. Haiman, managing editor of the St. Petersburg Times, has been urging a journalism school to install Selectric typewriters and CRTs "and let students create copy only on these two kinds of machines."

He adds: "It pains me a bit but I now believe no one should get a journalism degree after 1973 unless he is a skilled touch typist."

On the other hand, L. D. McAlister, managing editor of The Atlanta Journal, whose response to a question of mine was typed on a Selectric, wrote, "I've done an about face on what the journalism schools should teach about the new technology. I'm convinced now that they should concentrate on what they've always done best and leave the teaching of new technology to the newspapers. If it becomes practical for them to have electric typewriters and CRT terminals as working tools, that's fine. But I see no reason for the J-schools to teach courses in new technology."

Rhea Eskew, southern regional manager of United Press International, said "It doesn't serve merely to talk about video display terminal editing of news copy, yet there are very few schools of journalism making an effort to get the proper equipment to do the proper training job in this fundamental tool of our trade." At one major school of journalism he visited earlier this year, he reported, "I found to my complete dismay the instructor hadn't started to talk about, much less try to use, the editing tube and cursor."

The view of J. Patrick Kelly, executive news editor of the Winston-Salem (N.C.) Journal and Sentinel, is that aspiring newsmen and newswomen ought to be familiar with copy desk procedures and how copy gets to the composing room. "I see no reason why a copy editing course should not be extended to include some handling of copy by scanner or CRT, even if some editors will still be shuffling paper copy. The new devices will be basic tools of the craft."

What views do educators hold?

Stewart R. Macdonald, executive director of the ANPA Foundation, set up a two-day seminar last April in Richmond for 45 journalism educators. In announcing the seminar , he said, "Today's journalism students need to have a basic understanding of the new technology in order to use the new machines and processes to maximum effect."

At the seminar, educators were somewhat divided in how much and how they thought journalism schools ought to teach about the computer technology and its applications.

A majority took a middle ground favoring what one educator, F. Kenneth Brambrick of the University of Western Ontario, summed up as "some hands-on instruction for familiarization, but chiefly descriptive of systems and capabilities."

Others ranged from the suggestion to teach "a comprehensive overview of these new production systems" to a proposal to include a course in computer programming as an elective to meet a math requirement.

Several agreed with Verne E. Edwards, Jr. of Ohio Wesleyan University, who thought a hands-on demonstration was advisable "but I still favor concentrating on content rather than technology."

F. T. Gaumer of Ohio State was specific: "Students should be taught use of the equipment to the extent they will use it on the job and get some insight as to future trends."

A couple of educators suggested that the latest devices ought to be installed in journalism schools for teaching, but several pointed out that budgets for such equipment are tight or non-existent.

What are likely realities in the J-school situation?

From the viewpoint of a newsroom using new equipment let's consider the ingredients of the system in relation to needed knowledge.

First, the computer. It has been with us for some 20 years, but only in the last five or so has the public become much aware of it with computer billing. Any remotely applicable knowledge may be helpful to a newsman but for the processing of news via computer the young journalist seems better informed than most if he knows that computers perform a variety of functions at high speed, they are adaptable to various types of operations including hyphenation-justification, they require systematic thinking and understanding, their programming is based on logic and often can be revised, sometimes easily and quickly.

A short session, perhaps a lecture-demonstration of a few hours in the development and basic principles of computers, would certainly be interesting, informative, applicable and justifiable.

Second, the scanner. All one needs to know about this electronic wonder machine probably is that it readily and with high reliability reads typewriting that meets certain specifications and converts it into electronic signals that can be captured on tape (for hot type or photocomposition), or on a video display screen, or through a computer into a machine to produce phototype.

A student should be made familiar with the few major differences among the leading scanners, the kinds of type they recognize, and the ways they are utilized by news departments.

But what the journalism school graduate will be expected to have as he or she starts work at some newspapers is an ability to use an electric typewriter. Some shops, of course, will continue to use the manual. So some opportunity for training on electric typewriters in journalism school will be increasingly helpful.

Third, the video display terminal. An introduction to the use of this will give a graduate a real advantage in his quest for a position on a modern newspaper What's more he will be so fascinated by the machine that, given the opportunity, he may spend hours practicing on it.

Generally, classes could well be made familiar with their basic operation, variations in their programming for some newspapers, and how they are used at different newspapers. Terminals in a J-school will become helpful for hands-on demonstrations, practice, and laboratory use, even if their numbers are sharply limited.

Although paste-up normally is a production function, news personnel need to be familiar both with the fact that it is slower than hot type make-up and with its helpful flexibility for attractive and interesting display of stories, headlines and illustrations.

Looking ahead, students should be aware of the possibilities of much faster make-up in electronic pagination using display screens.

Already in Richmond, for example, highly formatted stock pages and classified ads, after basic preparation, are being set into type in from 70 to 90 seconds per fully justified page. The stock pages include graphs, but photographs and some other art work present problems because they require time-consuming conversion from original art to computer-readable to digitized or dot form for reproduction.

The system also does not embrace at this time the flexibility needed for news pages with their irregular and frequently changing layouts.

Beyond that in production, students might well learn the basics of new methods of plate-making and press operation.

Facsimile transmission is another new method coming into wider use. The Wall Street Journal and Christian Science Monitor are among newspapers transmitting full pages to satellite printing plants. But the beginning newsman is much more likely to get a quick on-the-job introduction to facsimile in sending a story from out-of-town to the news office. Basic information about this technique may be as useful as knowing the best ways to use one of the older electronic aids, the tape recorder.

As costs expectably decrease for some of the new equipment, their use will expand. So will the need for knowing how to use such equipment by those going into the field.

If most of the J-school graduates aiming for newspapers start on smaller publications to get the experience an increasing number of metros seem to be requiring, some knowledge of the future tools of the trade may be more helpful than one might expect.

Where should such basic and increasingly essential knowledge be programmed in schools that have not yet put their toes in the water ?

As indicated, electric typewriters probably should be made a tool for basic reporting. Terminals also will be generally enough used so news students should acquire some experience with them.

The finer points in the use of both probably fit best into editing classes. Much typewriter-scanner coding and correcting are pretty mechanical, but on many newspapers news personel will be performing these functions.

Further, many if not most journalism schools have wire services for copy editing classes. This arrangement could generate tape for editing on display terminals.

Indeed, some journalism schools are planning, installing or already using the new devices. Ohio State University's new journalism building includes new technology plans. The University of Missouri uses video display for some of its daily newspaper production. The University of South Carolina, given two photo-typesetting units by the Columbia, S. C., newspapers, has lined up one video terminal for students' hands-on use in producing a laboratory newspaper.

For its journalism students, the University of Texas plans to put terminal equipment on line probably to a university central computer and is not figuring on scanner use. Students at the University of Maryland are being provided electric typewriters to produce for nearby weeklies copy that may be processed through scanners.

Some journalism school deans are starting by ordering electric typewriters and hoping to obtain some terminals later.

Others are finding that newspapers with equipment may be in position to permit students from nearby journalism schools to visit the newspapers in off-peak hours for hands-on practice with terminals and for viewing scanner operations.

One educator, Lloyd Turner of Oklahoma State University, thinks such visits might become weekly lab sessions combined with films and slides.

John Colburn, vice preisdent of Landmark Communications, Norfolk, Va., said some way must be found to give students a chance to operate the new devices. He suggested that universities could get advice on equipment from the American Newspaper Publishers Association Research Institute, obtain some equipment from companies replacing theirs, solicit financial support from publishers through state press associations, and "put leverage on the legislatures to appropriate money on the same basis as they did to equip the communications schools with television and other expensive broadcast equipment."

Warren Agee of the University of Georgia thinks that journalism schools might find administrations more receptive to big budget items like optical scanners if they showed that such equipment could also be used for other departments.

Hillier Krieghbaum, a New York journalism educator, believes that qualified seniors and graduate students might attend ANPA technology sessions or special programs set up under the sponsorship of ANPA, the American Council on Education in Journalism or the Association of Education in Journalism.

The several possibilities, it seems to me, should spur rather than delay consideration of new equipment.

The basic units for some years ahead - electric typewriters, scanners, terminals, computers - are already available and the costs are decreasing rapidly. In June, for example, a scanner designed for newspapers was introduced with a price tag of $14,500. This was low enough to make it of interest to some newspapers smaller than those able to afford the more sophisticated units that may cost five times as much, even though a basic plan would call for using this scanner to process raw copy for subsequent editing and correcting on a video display terminal.

Indications are that in the next few years the equipment, its programming, and its use in news processing will be improved in reliability and versatility, but probably not to the point that training on existing equipment will lose its value.

No matter what method a J-school uses to acquaint its students with the key devices in the new newsrooms, the objectives ought to be to make the new young writer at home on an electric typewriter and, if convenient, to make the new young deskman as much at ease with a video terminal as father was with a copy pencil.

Despite the new technology, editors' criteria for applicants seem to be changing little so far. With technological needs in mind, several editors were asked about their present and possible priorities for hiring.

Tampa's Hudson thinks attitude has to be the first priority now and later. "All of today's applicants are pretty well educated, but they're not all committed. Most want to be editorial writers or write the banner story; they don't understand the nitty gritty of journalism."

Kelly considers a similar characteristic, which he calls motivation, continuing as the first priority. "They've got to be dedicated. They sometimes can feel it. We need people who can translate the feeling into real work. We get young people who are well educated but want seminars all the time instead of writing. We want evidence of some preparation for a newspaper career, talent and capacity for work."

These two comments alone point out clearly that well-educated, dedicated young people are still the targets of recruiters. On that basis, knowledge of the new technology and familiarity with equipment would be a helpful plus rather than a priority prerequisite.

Will it stay that way - and if so, for how long?

It's hard to tell at this point.

It is easy enough to learn the mechanics of operating a video terminal. Newsmen who use them like them. But on both typewriters and terminals there is a mental adjustment to be made so a news writer or editor hurdles the usual temporary emphasis on key locations, how to use them, and what niceties of copy placement or in some cases commands he or she must include.

Passing that barrier in J-school could be better than A grades.

In conclusion, several points should be re-emphasized:

First, the person to keep in mind in the whole newspaper operation remains the reader.

Second, the goal of the new technology is to improve the newspapers and its service to the reader by producing a cleaner paper faster and economically enough to maintain a sound business base.

Third, the electric typewriters, computers, scanners and terminals are at best only devices to help writers, editors and others do a better job of keeping their readers informed.

Thus, journalism schools are in position to shift gears to help their students get a fast start using the electronic aids in computerized news production systems.

But course emphasis still must be on the main job: a broad background; good, interesting writing; accuracy; clarity; completeness; and attractive display.

Fourth, now - not next year, but now - is the time for all good journalism schools that haven't to move toward the new technology to help their students get a fast start using the electronic aids in computerized news production systems.

Finally, regardless of the new technology, emphasis still must be on the main job: a broad background; interesting, informative and accurate writing; constructive editing; and attractive display to make tomorrow's newspapers in all respects better for the readers than today's.

A Paper Supporting Proposition #3: Social Science Reporting

The journalist needs to understand and apply the research methods and techniques of the social sciences not only to the study of communication behavior, but most importantly to the substance and content of reporting.

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For

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It is no longer enough for a reporter to know how to spell. He must also be able to count. For evidence of our national passion for quantification we need turn no farther than the sports pages. A football game has finite rules, lasts for a predetermined period of time, and its progress is marked by linear measurement of visible territory. The final score is unambiguous. If the rest of the world were like football, its problems might be easier to solve. It is the measurable problems that get the most attention. Angus Campbell (1971) has said, "Nothing seems to make a problem come alive to people in positions of decision like a finite count, whether it is number of people unemployed, crimes committed, highway accidents, illegitimate births, or children attending segregated schools."

The traditional humanist response to such preoccupation with the measurable is to urge more concern for intangible values. This is not enough. With the powerful tools of measurement and analysis now available, we may try to learn to measure some things previously considered unmeasurable. "The longer we wait to find reliable ways of assessing those aspects of individual experience which underlie our social problems," says social scientist Campbell, "the longer those problems will be with us."

The task of quantification need not and must not be left to social scientists. They are concerned with developing theories that have universal application to explain social phenomena. Journalists are more concerned with the minutie of everyday life. Social scientists speak wistfully of the need for "fire-engine" research to bring quantitative measurement to bear on fast-breaking events. We journalists, with our fast reaction time and experience at focusing large-scale resources on small but crucial events, are the more likely firemen. But either way -- whether we conduct our own research or report on the research of others, we need an intimate and working knowledge of the new research tools. At least two of the main currents in new research applications have a direct bearing on traditional functions of the news business. One is the development of quantitative indicators to monitor social change. The other is the use of quantitative methods to evaluate public policy.

We are always writing about social change, although we seldom try to measure it. The pictures in our heads about trends in certain groups or in society at large are shaped largely by anecdotal evidence or the attention-getting antics of a few who have the gift of being able to capitalize on our hunger for succinct and dramatic summarization. When H. Rap Brown said, "Violence is as American as cherry pie," we accorded that particular picture of the black protest movement a standing and a universality which it did not in fact possess. We tended to forget that the youth of the counterculture were not representative of youth as a whole. We have eventually been reminded, although it has taken some time for the reality to catch up with the myth. In the case of the black protest movement, which has now gone five years without a major urban riot, there is at last a realization that it is not bent on a necessary escalation to ever more anti-social forms of protest. This conclusion could have been drawn before the rioting stopped. Virtually all of the systematic research has shown that whites and blacks have been growing closer together in many ways -- even in the period spanned by the major riots. The University of Michigan (1972), which is using Detroit as a testing ground for the development of so-called "soft" measures of social change, found, for example, that the proportion of whites who said they would not be disturbed if a black family moved into the block increased from 40 per cent in 1958 to 68 per cent in 1971.

The conventional wisdom is often not the best evidence to what is really happening, and the normal, free-floating skepticism of journalists is not a sufficient challenge to the conventional wisdom. Skepticism can also be unfounded. The same Michigan project which attacked conventional beliefs about race relations also found corroboration of the widely commented-on changes in traditional sex roles. In 1955, according to the Detroit Area Survey, 21 per cent of the husbands got their own breakfast on work days. In 1971, nearly one husband in three was getting his own breakfast. And the proportion of wives who repair things around the house more than doubled -- from five per cent to 12 per cent -- in the same period.

These soft indicators of changes going on inside peoples' heads are a valuable supplement to the more traditional and easier-to-get hard indicators. While the latter can tell us, for example, that the divorce rate is increasing, we do not know whether this is good news or bad news without some indication of how the participants feel about it. One of the softer indicators proposed by Campbell is especially suited to monitoring by newspapers. It has been clear for some time that public faith in the trustworthiness of government has been fading. There has been an even longer trend for increased involvement of the government in the everyday lives of the citizens. Campbell would monitor "the insolence of office" by asking people how often they encounter policemen, city hall clerks, welfare workers, income tax agents, or other bureaucrats and how pleasant or frustrating those contacts are. Such an index would tell not only how the total burden of official insolence varies over time, but what segments of the population are most afflicted by it. The survey method is not the only way to measure this variable. It might be done with field experiments in which reporters place themselves in the roles of citizens seeking assistance from officials.

There is increasing use of social indicator-type measures to evaluate public policy. They are not always well used, and reporters need to know enough about quantitative methods to question these misapplications. The unemployment index of the Bureau of Labor Statistics provides an example. Because it is subject to the vagaries of sampling error, small differences must be interpreted with caution. But newspaper readers are seldom warned about sampling error. The pressures on political administrators to find favorable meaning in an ambiguous jiggle of two-tenths of a percentage point can be intense, as the case of former BLS Commissioner Geoffrey Moore has illustrated (Rowen, 1973). Moore looked at the available data and called the picture "mixed" while his political superiors were insisting that it was "heartening." Moore proved to be right but lost his job. In the ensuing controversy, few newspaper readers were treated to the explanation of the source and meaning of the index needed to follow the controversy.

A reporter who is not afraid of numbers finds his perception greatly sharpened. I first discovered this as a cub reporter in Topeka during the aftermath of the 1951 Kansas River basin floods. The Army Corps of Engineers announced that if Congress had heeded its request for three large dams in the basin, the dikes would not have been topped. Everyone accepted this until James L. Robinson, the state editor, got some numbers from the Weather Bureau and started pushing his pencil. He calculated the amount of water, in cubic feet per minute, that was going through Topeka at flood stage, figured the total volume of water needed to top the dikes, subtracted the hypothetical capacity of the unbuilt reservoirs, and found that the dikes at Topeka would still have washed out. The Corps backed down from its original claims.

Few reporters make such an effort to check the self-serving use of numbers by officials, although opportunities abound. One of the classic cases, widely cited because it illustrates a variety of fallacies, is the crackdown on speeding drivers in Connecticut in 1955. After a year of heavy enforcement, the total number of traffic deaths was 284 compared to 324 the year before, a difference of 12 per cent. Governor Ribicoff called the program "definitely worthwhile." But a closer examination of the statistics by Donald Campbell (1969), shows the traffic death rate to be highly unstable so that a 12 per cent shift could likely be due to chance alone. Moreover, since the reform was instituted after a year of an exceptionally high death toll, chance alone would place the following year's rate closer to the general trend. Such sources of spurious findings as regression toward the mean, testing effect and the use of testimonials, may be helpful to public officials who do not wish to risk subjecting their programs to honest evaluation. But we cannot afford to let them go unrecognized and uncriticized. We must know enough about evaluation research and its pitfalls to judge when we and our readers are being led astray.

We must also know enough not to lead them astray ourselves. In reporting crime trends, for example, reporters often fail to make the most elementary distinctions, such as that between the absolute number of crimes and the crime rate. Washington area readers are constantly being told that crime in the suburbs is rapidly increasing. It is, but so is the population. And the rate of serious crimes per 100,000 population went down between 1971 and 1972 in four of the five major suburban jurisdictions, while headlines were implying the reverse (Valentine, 1973).

In monitoring social trends and in evaluating the evaluators, newspapers are performing traditional newspaper watchdog functions. But because the things being watched are complex, some specialized and complex tools are necessary. The minimum requirements for developing the necessary skills would probably include a basic knowledge of statistics, a working knowledge of computers including programming skill, and the rudiments of experimental design and survey research. All of this should be within the capability of a highly-motivated undergraduate, provided he knows exactly what he wants and where to find it among the existing offerings of a university. However, undergraduates typically do not know what they want nor where to find it. Moreover, if the journalism school is to send him to the sociology department to get this knowledge, he may find it quite impossible to assemble the tools he needs because the people in those departments have other things on their minds than the training of journalists. The most needed parts of the package may lie beyond the reach of the non-sociology major because of a string of prerequisite courses. He must therefore either audit the courses he needs in order to select what he can use or look to the journalism school to package the instruction for him. Obviously, the latter solution is preferable. I can envision a one-semester undergraduate course which would cover all of the elements just described and which could be reinforced with a one-semester practicum. It would be easier to teach -- and to learn -- than the traditional courses in communication research because the student could perceive immediate practical benefits and the delicious sense of resistance overcome as newsworthy questions not normally considered researchable by journalists are brought to heel. Like other courses in which specific skills are taught, it would have the advantage that it would be known in advance exactly what a student should be able to do at the end of the instruction. Given this requirement, it is possible to design a course about behavioral methods along behavioral lines (McGaw, 1972). Instruction in tests of statistical significance, for example, can be combined with instruction in the use of the computer so that as soon as a student finds out about the chi square test he can put it to use on real data. This procedure reinforces both the statistical knowledge and the use of the computer.

One problem, of course, is that persons of high quantitative ability tend to self-select into careers other than journalism. But this is a problem not confined to journalism. The social sciences tend to attract students with humanistic rather than technical interests. These students acquire the technical skills as soon as they see how useful they are in adding to knowledge and ultimately serving humanistic ends. Journalism students can see it the same way. Fear of numbers, like fear of water, can be overcome with a quick plunge.

High school algebra would be the only prerequisite for the course I have in mind. With this background, it is possible to understand probability theory, and a student who understands probability theory can easily learn about sampling and significance testing. The standard deviation and the normal curve are not beyond the reach of people who write mostly with words, and when these tools are grasped, a useful package of inferential and descriptive statistics can be assembled.

The computer is equally accessible. Reporters have little in common with the patient, plodding geniuses who command machines in assembler or compiler languages, nor need they. The higher-level social science packages -- Crosstabs II, Data-Text, Statistical Package for the Social Sciences -- put complicated and drudgery-free analysis within the range of anyone who can understand the statistical procedures. Indeed, the newer interactive systems make computer manipulation readily available even to those who do not understand them. This is not a brand-new development. Harvard has been teaching its Data-Text language to sophomores for nearly a decade now, and undergraduates at Dartmouth have terminals which allow them to interact with computers without leaving their dormitories. Quite similar technology is already routinely used by the sales and mechanical departments of leading newspapers. The trend toward organizaing computer centers like public utilities will put such tools within reach of the smallest newspapers.

Teaching journalism students how to gather data in a form that can be manipulated with the new sophistication may prove to be the easiest task of all. Precision and painstaking effort is already a tradition of our craft. We are already compulsive at checking and double checking facts. In teaching survey methods to reporters and editors, I have always found that they are quick to appreciate the systematic selection procedures that form a probability sample. And on question design they tend to err, if at all, on the side of being too compulsively careful and conservative.

These basic tools of social science research, then, are our natural implements for doing better the kinds of things we already do. Why is their use not more widespread? There are some practical considerations.

First, there is the management problem of finding the people with the skills and deploying them to journalistic uses. Some newspapers, such as the Minneapolis Tribune, have done first-rate work in applying survey research to news gathering, by enlisting the help of the market research department. Others have hesitated at this sort of combination because reporters are jealous of their prerogatives and the market research department -- often an arm of the promotion department -- represents the business side whose separation from editorial matters is carefully preserved.

Another way to get the necessary skill is to buy it in package form. The package can be something that is nationally syndicated like the Gallup or Harris poll, a statewide operation like the Field Poll, or it can be commissioned on an ad hoc basis as were the Time Magazine-New York Times/Yankelovich election surveys of 1972.

A good measure of the success of these undertakings is the degree to which reporters become involved in the planning, production, analysis, and writing. The Gallup and Harris polls are produced in succinct fashion, presenting only a few variables at a time with a minimum of analysis or cross-tabulation. Each is written in an informational vacuum, i.e. neither takes into account relevant findings the other may have made on the subject at hand nor, for that matter, do they usually consider corroborating or contradicting evidence from any source other than their own polls. This practice violates traditions of both scholarship and good journalism. Before exploring a subject, one should first find out who else has explored it. Before testing a hypothesis, one searches the literature to see what existing evidence bearing on that hypothesis is available. For Gallup and Harris to ignore each other is like the afternoon paper pretending that its morning opposition does not exist. Some papers still practice such head-in-the-sand competition although the prevailing view on that score today is that news is news, no matter its source. The Washington Post and the Star-News, for example, do not hesitate to inform their readers, with credit, of the other's important exclusives.

When both Gallup and Harris follow topics that are of page-one concern, their subscribing papers could better serve their readers by writing their own stories from the poll data, integrating the findings with one another and with information from other sources. For a clear illustration, consider the 1968 and 1972 presidential election campaigns when the question of "who's ahead" was foremost. Neither poll by itself established a trend as clearly as the two of them considered together. In 1968, their findings were sometimes contradictory. Sometimes polls from other sources made the meaning of Gallup and Harris clearer or helped to resolve seeming contradictions. In either case, readers deserve as complete a picture as we can give them. Reporters who know something about quantitative methods can provide this completeness. The knowledge is the only extra ingredient they need: there is no data-gathering cost to the newspaper when all that is required is the information on which to make better judgements.

When a newspaper contracts with an outside research firm for its own tailored survey projects, its success can depend on its ability to specify exactly what it wants to find out, the degree of accuracy it must have, and the separation of journalistic and data-gathering roles. One newspaper of national reputation quite properly severed its connection with a research organization when the latter vetoed certain survey questions because it thought they weren't proper subjects for a newspaper to explore. That of course is a journalistic, not a data-gathering question.

Two recent successful examples of outside contracting are the New York Times/Yankelovich and the Washington Post/Peter Hart election surveys of 1972. In both cases, researchers worked closely with writers. Reporters worked directly from the survey tabulations rather than writing reports about reports. In the case of the primary election-day surveys, they worked with fantastic speed, getting some analysis into the paper as early as the day after election. The Times and the Post also had the good sense to assign first-rate writers to these projects. Quantitative analysis is only as good as the information that you can communicate from it. The finest scholarly interpretation is of no use if the reader cannot understand it. Indeed, the basic problem in applying social science research methods to journalism may prove to be in finding just the right mix of quantitative and verbal skills to maximize the transfer of information.

Even the pace-setting efforts of the Times and Post were not without flaws, however. There was a tendency sometimes to puff up the exclusiveness of a survey to the point where clarifying data from other sources was not used. The Times on Sept. 25 offered data that were from two to four weeks old to show that the McGovern campaign had still not begun to gather momentum at a time when fresher data could have shown the opposite. A time-series comparison in that Times story did show some McGovern movement, but readers were left thinking it was probably sampling error. A better appreciation of the subtleties of sampling error, i.e. that the .05 level of statistical significance is an accounting convenience and not a law of nature, could have alerted the readers to the probability that the McGovern campaign was finally beginning to make some small movement -- a probability that was reinforced by the Harris poll a day later.

Newspapers which hire experts to do their research for them can also err on the side of not being cautious enough. Both the Post and Times research designs were highly cost-effective from the standpoint of columns of copy produced per dollar spent. But they may have told us more about voter attitudes than we really wanted to know, and some of their resources might have been better spent on improving the precision of their findings. The problem of precision is difficult to manage in the interaction of the conventional journalist and the research contractor. The pressure to do the job as cheaply as possible is intense. The temptation to trade precision for volume, in terms of copy produced, is great. Both the Times and Post bought research designs that were less than ideal in that they combined aspects of quota and accidental sampling within a basically sound probability sampling framework. To the writers' credit, statements about the findings were carefully hedged. But they would have been easier to read and write if so much hedging had not been necessary.

Nevertheless, these efforts are the most significant recent advance in the adoption of precision research by newspapers. But, ideally, a newspaper reporter should not have to hire others to do his thinking for him. For the best application of the new methods, reporters must learn the methods. This is not to say there is no room for the subcontracting of research. But journalists should know enough of the methodology to design the research, write specifications for the field work, perform the analysis unaided, and evaluate the results. It is not necessary, although it is sometimes advantageous, both from a cost and quality-control standpoint, for writers and editors to supervise or conduct the actual collection of data.

If these examples seem to draw too heavily from research about voting behavior, it is because this is one area where social science applications are easy to sell to editors and publishers. An argument can be made that they are interested in survey research for the wrong reasons. Curiosity about the outcome of a future election is a preoccupation of newspapers while more fundamental questions about the structure of coalitions and individual voting decisions go unanswered. But if we are going to promote more precision in journalism, we have to start somewhere, and the market is ripest in election coverage. Once a city desk learns that a technique is available, its application to other questions that arise in the flow of the news should quickly become apparent.

The applications to investigative reporting are particularly intriguing. Almost any experienced investigative reporter can cite occasions when he has had a specific hypothesis to test, a body of publicly available data with which to test it, but no way to do the job because the bulk and organization of the data made the task unmanageable. But the same techniques that make manageable the complex task of understanding public opinion can also be applied to public records. The 1973 study of the Philadelphia criminal justice system by the Philadelphia Inquirer is a good example. The sampling, coding, and data analysis procedures drew from the same body of techniques that public opinion studies have used. The basic difference was that a public document -- in this case, a court record of a crime and its disposition -- was the unit of analysis rather than a voter interview.

When we use these innovative methods, I often hear three basic kinds of objections from my colleagues. At the risk of creating straw men, I shall cite them briefly:

1. Social scientists might be resentful if journalists copy their methods, because journalists will corrupt the methodology and distract attention from the sound work done by the professionals in social science. But I have yet to hear such a complaint from a social scientist. They are readers, too, and highly critical readers at that, who welcome any increase in precision we can give them. Thus, the New York Times election surveys were praised by five Harvard government professors for producing "substantially greater insight into the meaning of the election" than conventional reporting or conventional polls (Schneider, Orren, Lipset, Verba, and Price, 1973).

2. Statistical evidence is too susceptible to misleading manipulation and should therefore be shunned. This objection really needs no refutation here. Of all forms of generalized information, statistical data is the most susceptible to checking and verification. We should be glad when liars use figures, because that makes them easy to catch.

3. Use of quantitative methods will tempt journalists into overconfidence in their findings and lead them to substitute mechanical solutions for judgement. This danger is real, but it hardly stands as an argument for rejecting the quantitative approach altogether. It is rather an argument for learning the quantitative methods well enough to use them wisely.

There remains the problem of how to place the new techniques within reach of newspapers. Larger newspapers obviously have an advantage, because large-scale resources are often needed. But there are problems, even for a large organization. Once you decide that you need reporters who can handle quantitative methods, how do you find them or train them?

I have already suggested that journalism students can be motivated to master the techniques if they are presented in a way that shows immediately how they can be applied to authentic problems of news gathering. But what happens when a student so trained reaches the job market? If the journalism school has done its job well, he is going to find that he is over-trained for his first job and that gaining a skill does not guarantee finding a situation in which to apply it. At the same time, newspapers which want to develop in-house capacity for applying quantitative research methods to the practice of journalism have no clear strategy for proceeding. To move ahead confidently, they must have reporters who are at home with both the old methods and the new. Until such reporters are trained, subcontracting may be the only course.

Given these problems, some cautions for journalism schools suggest themselves:

First, they should not oversell social science methodology as the answer to all of the competing ambiguities that afflict our profession. Reporters need many different kinds of tools. This is only one. And it must be used, if it is to help us at all, within the context of the old journalism. It is not making social scientists out of journalists. It is a way of helping journalists do their regular job with more power and precision in those special situations where more power and precision are called for.

Second, when a journalism student shows an interest in developing this speciality, care should be taken that he is soundly grounded in traditional methods first. These are methods by which he will succeed or fail in his early career, and this is the training that will enable him to tell the difference between a journalistic application and a social-scientific application. A student who is interested in quantitative research at the exclusion of all other kinds of research belongs in some other, more theory-oriented field.

Third, the subject should be presented as something one needs to know not only to conduct original research but to understand the research of others. As society becomes more complex and social programs more innovative, we move closer to what Donald Campbell (1971) has called "the experimenting society." In such a society, programs would be evaluated, not according to how well they fit preconceived ideological commitments but by how well they work. The measures of how well they work will be essentially quantitative measures. Reporters unaccustomed to counting and measuring will not be able to follow the debate.

Finally, we should probably not worry too much about the fact that journalism school graduates who become proficient in quantitative methods will be overtrained for the jobs that they will fill early in their careers. Good journalism schools always overtrain. Their mission is to prepare students for the careers of the future, not of the past. The most important thing a journalism student can learn is not a collection of facts and skills but the knack of continuing to learn. We can be fairly confident that the mission of the journalist -- to tell the public what it needs to know quickly and accurately -- will not change. It is almost equally certain that the context in which that mission must be carried out will change -- perhaps often and in unexpected ways. Quantitative research is one route to the kind of flexibility we shall need.

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A Paper Supporting Proposition #4: Professional Media Experience

Successful teaching of the skills of journalism requires teachers with professional media experience. The Ph.D. is desirable, but should never be required for all members of the journalism school faculty.

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The controversy over who shall teach and what shall be taught is both old and fierce. In the Fourth Century B.C. the rulers of ancient Greece sentenced Socrates to drink the cup for corrupting the minds of Athenian youth. Some 400 years later the religious authorities of Palestine condemned Jesus to the cross for blasphemous teachings. And in Seventeenth-Century Italy the Inquisition persecuted and prosecuted Galileo for advancing scientific theories contradictory to the official church doctrines of his day.

While the consequences for holding educational beliefs may not be as dire today, the debate over who shall teach what still rages. Journalism education, in particular, is fraught with controversies about what the ideal faculty should be. Some authorities advocate filling the teaching ranks with men and women enriched by years of professional experience. Others demand the hiring of behavioral scientists with sophisticated research skills. Still others insist upon populating the faculty roster with scholars educated in the humanities.

Ben Franklin, Journalism's Man for All Seasons

As in most cases, history can be looked to for help in settling contemporary problems. One of the earliest, if not the first, American journalism educator was Benjamin Franklin, who trained a number of publisher-editors in his Philadelphia shop, established them in newspaper outposts in the colonies, and then schooled them in the ways of publishing through encouraging and instructive letters. Franklin, in setting forth the prospectus for his Pennsylvania Gazette, outlined the qualifications of an acceptable journalist which are as applicable today as they were in Eighteenth-Century America:

> We are fully sensible, that to publish a good newspaper is not so easy an undertaking as many people imagine it to be. The author of a Gazette (in the opinion of the learned) ought to be qualified with an extensive acquaintance with languages, a great easiness and command of writing and relating things clearly and intelligibly, and in a few words; he should be able to speak of war both by land and sea; be well acquainted with geography, with the history of the time, with the several interests of princes and states, the secrets of courts, and the manners and customs of all nations. Men thus accomplished are very rare in this remote part of the world; and it would be well if the writer of these papers could make up among his friends what is wanting in himself.

If much was expected of the practicing journalist of colonial America, even more was demanded of the master journalism teacher, and Franklin easily met the test.

During a lifetime that encompassed most of the Eighteenth Century, Franklin proved himself a master of many subjects, a perfector of many talents. Diplomat, inventor, scientist, statesman, essayist, musician, printer, fire chief, postmaster, wit, and sage -- Franklin was undoubtedly the largest, all-round man this continent has produced. A true genius comparable to Leonardo da Vinci and Roger Bacon, he was magnificiently prepared not only to practice journalism but to instruct others in the art through his apprentice-joint publishing system. Interestingly enough, he attained such high stature without benefit of so much as a baccalaureate degree.

The Makings of a Balanced Program

Not even the most demanding Ph. D. program could produce a man of such proportions as Franklin in the Twentieth Century, however. The world has become too complex, the various fields of scholarship too specialized, the amount of knowledge in any given area too vast for a renaissance man of Franklin's accomplishments to present himself before the doors of academe today. And yet the journalism schools and departments must somehow accumulate and impart even more knowledge and understanding than a Franklin, if they are to fulfill their obligations in the complicated world of the 1970's. The well-balanced modern journalism faculty, then, must be prepared to command expertise in a variety of areas: political science, history, law, economics, English, sociology, psychology -- and particularly in those aspects of these disciplines that pertain to the theory and practice of journalism. This calls for a faculty of proven distinction in both scholarship and media performance.

Normally, scholarly accomplishment and potential can be most readily secured by recruiting men and women who have earned their doctorates from rigorous graduate programs. While there is nothing magical about the conferring of a Ph. D. that automatically insures success as a teacher, the process of attaining the degree does provide specific experiences and understanding that enhance the chances of success in the world of higher education.

The graduate of a quality doctoral program will not only have been exposed to the literature of his chosen field, but will have been required to sift through that literature, to assimilate it thoroughly, and to argue out its implications until he is able to piece together the various parts into a cohesive body of knowledge that can be imparted to others. Furthermore, he will have been trained in the methodological tools that will enable him to make research contributions of his own to that body of knowledge, and in fact, will have been required through his dissertation to have initiated a career of original research. Equally important, [illegible] will in all probability have established an expectation-relationship with his major professors that will prod him to make creative contributions to his field throughout the rest of his career.

Most significant of all, the doctoral program encourages the student to stand back and take a longer view of his discipline. Rather than being plagued by time factors and practicalities, he is encouraged to strive for the ideal, understand things as they should be rather than accept them as they are, and perform the role of social critic. Naturally enough, this leads to taking a contemplative approach to issues, to fitting departmentalized items into a larger overview pattern, and to trying out new ideas and concepts. In the process of attaining all of this, he becomes familiar with the language and customs that allow him to be accepted into and move freely about in the academic community -- which is no small matter in achieving success on the status-conscious campus of today.

Just as obtaining the Ph. D. is most likely to guarantee that a teacher will master the theoretical and research aspects of journalism education, gaining media experience is most apt to insure that he will have an intelligent grasp of the practical facets of the field. Several years of varied experience on a quality publication or broadcasting operation is normally the best way of providing the kind of insight and attitude of mind that is necessary, if journalism education is going to relate meaningfully to the profession in both teaching and research.

The teacher who has worked at a variety of jobs under tough-minded editors or media executives with high standards is apt to come away with an appreciation of the communication industry that will assist him in demanding professional-level work from his students and at the same time help him avoid making uninformed Agnew-like criticisms of the media. First-hand experience also allows the scholar to conceive and execute needed research and, once it is completed, to relate it to the profession in a jargon-free manner that leads to understanding rather than apathy or even outright antagonism. Without doubt, Chilton R. Bush's media background in Memphis and New York helps account for the success he experienced in relating research findings to members of the profession through the American Newspaper Publishers Association's News Research Center.

Practical experience, then, provides the journalism teacher with a basic understanding of (1) media organization, from copyboy to publisher; (2) the flow of news, from story conception to front-page article; (3) opinion formation, from the birth of a campaign to the finished editorial page; (4) technical processes, from CRT composition to offset printing, and (5) economic factors, from advertising rates to the size of the news hole. The observant practitioner grows to appreciate the limitations imposed by time, space, money, and human fallibility. He will also gain insights as to how the media interact with economic, social, political, and intellectual factions of the community. Finally, he becomes familiar with the mores and working language of the press and forms valuable contacts with professionals that can help the journalism program in job placement, bringing speakers to the campus, and securing media cooperation on research projects.

Neither the Ph. D. nor media experience is an absolute guarantee of success in journalism education. Unfortunately, there are diploma mills just as there are hack newspapers. The experiences resulting from a rigorous doctorate program and a demanding media position, however, can complement one another. For example, the idealism of the Ph. D. and the practicality of the media mentioned above can be integrated to equip young people with the kind of realistic understanding Richard W. Lyman, president of Stanford University, calls for when he asserts: "To be effective, liberal education must enable people to learn the difference between wish and achievement -- and how to blend the two." Blending the "wish" element of the Ph. D. with the "achievement" element of media experience can help build a quality journalism education program when applied judiciously to various facets of the curriculum:

Applying Ph. D. and Media Experience to the Curriculum

Basic Verbal Communication Skills. In setting priorities for education, author-journalist H. G. Wells declared: "First we shall want the pupil to understand, speak, read, and write his mother tongue well." Unfortunately, the educators traditionally assigned to oversee this obligation have neglected their commission. More and more, students entering journalism programs evidence serious shortcomings in being able to handle the English language effectively. The traditional Freshman Comp course is no more; the old-fashioned, hard-nosed high school English teacher has just about disappeared from the American scene. Enrollments have grown too large for English instructors to teach composition in the classic manner -- by having students write essay after essay and then carefully critiquing their work. And so the colleges and universities have given up on teaching the basics of the language; consequently the elementary and high schools have, too, since colleges no longer train prospective teachers in grammar and composition.

As a result the journalism schools emerge as one of the last vestiges in American education to care about clear, concise employment of the language. If they are to turn out men and women who can work successfully in the media, they must help students sharpen their verbal skills. This calls for faculty members who demonstrate an appreciation -- really a love -- of language. Since this instruction normally should be tied to such basics of journalism as information gathering and interviewing, instructors in this area should have had professional experience so they can prepare their students for the realities of the media world.

Basic Non-Verbal Communication Skills. The late 1960's and early 1970's have seen the emergence of a new socio-psychological phenomenon -- the visually oriented citizen. Students on the campus, as well as the youthful media audience, represent the first generation to have been reared on television. As a consequence they are far more attracted and held by the non-verbal aspects of communication than previous generations. Witness the growing appeal to youth of multi-media shows, eye-catching advertisements, light shows, the psychedelic swirls and colorful, far-out designs of the underground press. More and more, the traditional media are recognizing this fact and placing greater emphasis on the display and design of their messages.

This means that the journalism schools should be giving increased attention to the non-verbal as well as the verbal aspects of communication. Merely teaching more of the same old thing will not suffice, however. Instructors should be going beyond accepted newspaper layout and traditional photography to explore fresh modes of expression and even new combinations of traditional media forms. This calls for a faculty member who not only has had media experience as a press photographer or layout editor, for example, but one who also has had exposure to the innovative research and creative experimentation that is taking place inside and outside the university. The person grounded in the behavioral research methodology stressed in many Ph. D. programs, would be especially well prepared to teach and do research in the non-verbal area. And with luck, he will possess a creativity that will generate a similar quality in his students.

Editing and Reporting Skills. Despite the popularity of new course sequences and new areas of research, the guts of journalism education is still reporting and editing. Most of the prospective employers recruiting out of the schools of journalism are looking for persons who can conceive, gather, synthesize, and communicate information and ideas. This applies to recruiters from the advertising, public relations, and government information areas as well as to magazine, newspaper, and broadcast news employers. Even the law schools and graduate schools, who increasingly are looking to journalism programs for applicants, emphasize the importance of communication skills.

It is difficult, if not impossible, to teach the basics of reporting and editing without having had first-hand media experience. To expose students to the pressures of writing under deadline, to teach the intricacies of balancing accuracy against time, to instill an understanding of that elusive factor called news judgment -- all require an understanding of the mores and inner workings of the mass media that can best come from having served an apprenticeship there. The teacher who has worked as a reporter or editor will also have a better understanding of the policies, objectives, and problems of the media. He will also have deeper appreciation of the ethical problems of reporting that plague men and women who earn their living by conveying information while it is still news and by poking their noses into what some would consider private affairs.

History and Philosophy of the Media. "Don't fall into the vulgar idea that the mind is a warehouse, and education but a process of stuffing it full of goods," asserted philosopher-theologian John M. Mason. "The aim of education should be to convert the mind into a living fountain, and not a reservoir. That which is filled by merely pumping in, will be emptied by pumping out." It is essential, then, that the journalism student acquire an understanding of and lively appreciation for the history and values of his own field of endeavor if he is going to have reserves to draw upon. With this type of background the journalism student will see beyond the immediate practical problems and be able to envision his work in a larger societal context.

By studying history he can learn from the successes and mistakes of past journalists. He can also gain insights about the close interaction between the press and society as well as find inspiration from tracing the actions of the great and the colorful personalities who have shaped the course of American journalism. Most important of all, he can learn a great deal about the writing of good history, for after all journalism actually constitutes the first draft of history in most cases. Reporters at the battlefront or at the race riot or at the disaster scene provide much of the raw data from which professional historians later draw to write their treatises.

With the ever-increasing attacks made upon the mass media by Spiro Agnew and friends, it is as important to study the contemporary relationships between the press and society as it is to understand such intercourse of the past. The student who does not understand the interaction between government and the media, who fails to grasp the obligations of the media under American social-political theory, will act out an empty career, indeed. Society is very apt to suffer when the journalist fails to think through his obligations and ethics in a systematic manner.

Ideally, the journalism faculty should have teachers who hold a doctorate in history and political science to cover these areas. The history of journalism, to be understood, must be taught against the broader background of American social-intellectual history. Press and society courses should be placed in a meaningful context of social and political theory. If the instructors for this area have had media experience, so much the better, for it will help them appreciate more fully the problems and trends confronting the profession.

Communication Law. In order to operate effectively today, the journalist needs much more than the smattering of legal information about libel and obscenity that formerly sufficed. One veteran newsman who went into journalism teaching about a decade ago recalls commenting to one of his first reporting classes: "All I needed to know when I ran into a legal problem on the desk was the telephone number of the newspaper's lawyer." Since then the veteran newsman has become a veteran teacher who spends hour after hour in the law library studying court cases and legal philosophy because he firmly believes that the law plays an ever-increasing role in the everyday life of the journalist. Freedom of access to government information, newsman's privilege, postal regulations, privacy, prior restraint, and a host of other legal issues face the young journalist today and give every indication of becoming even more crucial for the newsman of tomorrow. Understanding the law also becomes more important in an era when the journalist reports legal actions more frequently as society turns to the courts more and more to solve grievances.

Holding a law degree or at least having taken a series of law courses is fast becoming a prerequisite for teaching communication law. In addition the teacher must spend large blocks of time with law journals and other legal documents, to keep abreast of a fast-changing field.

Communication Theory and Methodology. An area of increasing importance to journalism at all levels is the body of knowledge and the research methods being developed in communication theory. For too long practitioners and theorists have been at war in non-productive ways rather than joining forces to assist one another in solving problems. Communication research can provide valuable insights into problems facing the media as well as enlighten the journalist about the process and effects of communication. Conversely, the practitioner can help the researcher design and execute better studies, and hence avoid some of the pitfalls awaiting the scholar who might not understand the inner operations of the media. Many of the techniques developed by behavioral science researchers long ago should have been applied to reporting and editing. The working journalist also can obtain a great deal of useful knowledge from basic work in the communication theory area, including public opinion formation, propaganda, survey analysis, readership studies, content analysis, observational techniques, and the nature of proof.

Since this is a highly specialized area, the teacher should without doubt hold a Ph. D. not only to gain the necessary knowledge in this area but to earn the respect and build the contacts with other Ph. D.'s who are working on similar problems across the country. The professionally oriented instructor can play an important role, too, however. For example, he might team teach with the behavioral scientist to help advanced reporting students apply communication theory to laboratory publications, such as has been done at Northwestern University where a psychologist and a journalist combined efforts to teach an advanced reporting course and turn out an experimental laboratory newspaper.

Media Management and Economics. The managing editor of one of the nation's leading newspapers recently remarked: "My journalism school prepared me very well in reporting and editing, but I didn't learn very much about the management aspects of the media. Now I spend a great part of my time handling personnel matters, but nowhere along the line did I receive any instruction to help me." In an age of corporate journalism and fierce economic competition, the management and economic considerations of the media become increasingly important. Instruction in this area should not be reserved for the student who plans to specialize on the business side alone; all journalism majors need to grasp the economic and management principles of the profession. The student who starts out to be a star reporter may very well end up as editor or publisher of a prestigious publication.

Wherever he ends up, every journalist should have a basic understanding of the economic trends and management principles that control the life and destiny of his profession. The tremendous changes that have taken place in media technology over the past decade or so, are a case in point. The decisions to adopt offset printing, CRT's, electric typewriters and the like usually have been first decided in the business office rather than in the editorial office. More and more, the economics of the situation control the working operations of journalism and affect the quality of the final product.

To teach effectively in this area, the instructor should have a doctorate in economics, business, or advertising. Practical experience in the business-management side of the media and continual contact with media practitioners would enhance the faculty member's teaching and research performance greatly.

The Perfect Faculty Specimen

To fulfill this holy writ of journalism education, the conscientious school will have to choose its faculty with great care. The exemplary faculty member should hold a bachelor's degree in English, a master's in history, a second master's in political science, a doctorate in social-psychology, plus a Ph. D. in journalism.

Professional media experience should also be required including at least three years in newspaper work, three years with a radio-television station, two years on a magazine staff, a year in public relations work, a year with an advertising agency. This experience should cut across a variety of responsibilities, ranging from reporting to editing to layout and design work, and include at least some acquaintance with the production and economic aspects of the media.

The ideal applicant also should have published in scholarly journals, give promise of being able to mesmerize large lecture sections, show skill in handling small seminars, and demonstrate a facility for counseling students and advising thesis work. In order to comply with new federal and state regulations, it would be desirable if the applicant were a black Jewish woman.

All of this must have been accomplished by age 30, if the potential teacher is to relate to students on the one hand and still maintain rapport with faculty colleagues on the other hand. It would also be helpful if the applicant has an attractive mate, no personal problems, and two beautiful children who would fit well into the academic community. Finally, the applicant must be willing to work for $10,000 to $11,000 a year -- the going rate in universities these days for Ph. D.s without teaching experience.

The Forces That Influence Hiring

Finding this perfect faculty member is impossible, but the conscientious journalism administrator must do his best to hire teachers who fulfill as many of the criteria as possible. In doing so, a number of forces within and without the university come into play, and the dean or chairman who fails to recognize these influences may find his program in serious difficulty of one sort or another.

Alumni of the school and leaders of the profession, who often are one and the same, will normally urge the hiring of men and women with strong media experience. The Ph. D. usually is not important to this group, and in fact, may even be viewed with suspicion in some quarters. This constituency can play an important part in securing support for not only the journalism program but for the university at large, and so ignoring them can lead to serious consequences. Normally, the alumni and professionals are the best source of outside funds, which in these days of tight university budgets become increasingly important to the health and welfare of the journalism program. Not only do they provide scholarships, student loan funds, and research grants, but also contingency money for faculty and student travel, departmental entertainment, and special projects. They also can be crucial in obtaining support within the university administration for the journalism program as well as influence the state legislature to fund building projects. Conversely, stirring their ire for too long can bring down editorial attacks and even legislative investigations upon the university's journalism house. Finally, and most important of all, they can make or break the school's placement record.

Private foundations and governmental granting agencies are another important influence. Normally this constituency places weight on the academic training and research potential of the faculty, particularly if they are interested in supporting scholarly investigations. They also may look very seriously at the reputation of the journalism school in the eyes of the rest of the academic community, if they are considering the backing of certain training programs. For example, the National Council for the Humanities in making its recent grants to Stanford and the University of Michigan, reportedly was as much interested in the relationships of the journalism faculties to the humanities departments and the strength of those departments as it was in the journalism programs themselves. The professional reputation of the school can also be important to this group. The Ford Foundation, for example, recognized the professional standing of the Medill School of Journalism when it established the Journalism Urban Affairs Program at Northwestern.

High school personnel constitute still another outside group that bears consideration. While most journalism programs across the country hardly lack students in light of the recent heavy enrollment in communication courses, most still would like to attract more honor students. Since high school journalism instructors and counselors can play an important role in helping good students decide where they will attend college, maintaining good relations with the high schools is advisable.

While high school personnel may appreciate a scholarly faculty more than some other constituencies, the average high school teacher is still somewhat suspicious of what he terms "the research Ph.D. who talks pretentious jargon."

Equally important are a number of forces within the university. The academic deans can break a program, if they do not consider it academically respectable. This is particularly true of departments that reside within colleges of liberal arts, where deans sometimes fail to recognize the difference between professional programs and strictly academic departments. Academic deans tend to place emphasis on the Ph.D., research, and publication in scholarly journals. In part, this is because the deans, in conducting their day-to-day business, have grown accustomed to dealing with these factors, which are the primary measuring marks of most departments. In part, it is because the deans themselves usually have come up the ranks from the older, more orthodox disciplines such as history, English, political science, economics, or chemistry -- which place little if any emphasis on practical experience. Because such disciplines hold a majority and therefore control the power structure of the university, persons from such departments as journalism rarely stand a chance of moving into deanships.

Another factor is the role faculty members from other departments play in the promotion and tenure procedure. Invariably, professors from the traditional disciplines form the overwhelming majority on tenure and promotion committees, and they sometimes take a negative attitude toward anyone or anything that hints at being vocational, or even practical, in nature.

If the deans and other academicians in the university power structure cannot be convinced that there is a legitimate place for the professional on the journalism faculty, the program may eventually lose favor and consequently find itself limping along with less budget, fewer faculty positions, more curriculum restrictions, fewer appointments to powerful committees on campus, and a low image with the academic establishment on campus.

On the other hand university administrators, such as presidents and chancellors who are more directly affected by public opinion and pressure groups, tend to recognize the value of hiring outstanding professionals who can fit into the academic community. Since these administrators usually come into more contact with the media and are generally more concerned about the university's image with high schools, business, legislators, and the general public, they tend to be more favorable to hiring faculty members who can relate to influential outside groups.

The deans and the university president usually do interact on matters of budgeting, hiring, and setting educational policy in general, and so there often can be a compromise on the Ph.D. vs. professional question. Understanding in this area can be advanced greatly by a journalism head who carefully does his homework in explaining the needs of his program to the many power facets of the university. Advisory boards from the profession can also play an important role by meeting with university officials and university committees.

The students themselves have become an increasingly strong force in the selection of faculty members. The rise of student militancy in the late 1960's, with its change into "working within the system" in more recent years, has resulted in a much larger role for students. They have demanded and won places on faculty search committees, and they are demanding participation in the tenure, promotion, and pay decisions. A faculty member must relate to students, giving them information they need in an interesting or challenging manner. The professor cannot get by on yellowed notes, well-worn anecdotes, or recounting startling research of the past -- it will all come to light on a student evaluation of faculty, with printed percentages to tell the story. A professor must have something to say, present it in an interesting way, and constantly keep up-to-date on changes in his field, if he is to satisfy his student constituency.

Perhaps the most important force at work is the journalism faculty itself. To hire a teacher without pretty general accord is an open invitation to factionalism and internal warfare. Faculty members guard their prerogatives jealously and often jockey to see that their interests and their own kind are protected. Professionally oriented faculty members often worry that the school is giving too much attention to esoteric research. Research-oriented faculty members often fret about the "trade school" reputation of the program. A potential faculty member can also be a threat, no matter what his qualifications, if the existing staff sees him or her as infringing upon their territorial rights. Nothing can be more damaging to a program than to have disgruntled faculty members at one another's throats, vying for the loyalties of students for their particular cause, and bad-mouthing the school to outsiders.

The Solution: An Eclectic Faculty

Satisfying the prejudices and demands of all these constituents of journalism education is difficult, but not impossible. True, no single teacher can be expected to possess all of the desired traits. But, collectively, the faculty can. By selective hiring over a period of time, the wise journalism chairman can assemble a wide array of teachers with varied talents and backgrounds who complement one another.

Whenever possible, it is desirable to find men and women who have both the Ph.D. and solid media experience. Such individuals are not easy to come by, however. So a number of schools and departments have sought out seasoned professionals to complement the more theoretically-oriented teachers on their faculties. For example, the University of North Carolina has Vermont Royster, former editor of the Wall Street Journal; the University of Washington has Fendell Yerxa, former managing editor of the New York Herald-Tribune; Columbia University has Norman Issacs, former executive editor of the Louisville Courier Journal. Each of these men was senior enough and prestigious enough to come to the campus with full rank and tenure despite not having graduate degrees.

In other cases, the chairman and dean must carefully guide the professional without the normal academic credentials, to make sure that he is not held up in the tenure-promotion track. For example, Ralph Holsinger, long-time Washington correspondent and former managing editor of the Cincinnati Enquirer, successfully gained tenure and was promoted to full professor after teaching at Indiana University for several years. In presenting Holsinger's case, his chairman argued that he had obtained the equivalent of a doctorate in the profession and that his intellectual contributions to the university were as great in his own way as any in the department.

Great care must be exercised in hiring professionals, however. It is both unwise and unfair to take a man from the media and put him in the classroom unless he has a strong likelihood of making a success of his university career. This goes beyond merely obtaining rank and tenure; it also has to do with maintaining his own sense of accomplishment and his effectiveness with students. Just wanting to retire into teaching and tell old anecdotes a few hours a week will not suffice. To be successful as a teacher, the individual must possess a first-rate intellect and have something significant to say. In fact, that alone is paramount, taking precedent over degrees and practical experience and any other criteria.

Once the professional is on the faculty, a number of things can be done to help equip him for academic life. He can undertake class work in areas where he feels deficient on an audit basis or for credit if he wants to pursue a degree. He can undergo in-service training or join a faculty colloquium on teaching. (Indiana holds lunch-bag meetings where faculty members and graduate students interested in teaching come together to discuss educational problems with master teachers drawn from throughout the university.) He can initiate a self-instruction program of his own in areas where he needs strengthening by seeking out suggested readings from other faculty members. Finally, he can engage in team teaching and cooperative research, joining forces with faculty members who possess talents and experiences different from his own.

Professionals without degrees are not the only ones in need of supplementary work. Many Ph.D.'s lack understanding about the practical world of journalism and should be undertaking self-improvement, too. This can be done through summer internships with the media, through visits to newspaper and broadcasting stations, and by attending professional meetings of such groups as the American Newspaper Publishers Association, the American Society of Newspaper Editors, the Associated Press Managing Editors, and state press associations. Of course, the team approach suggestion applies here, too. Just as much learning can take place on the part of the theoretician in team teaching and research with the professional as vice versa.

Even if all of these self-improvement suggestions were to be fulfilled by the regular faculty, there would still be a void in the journalism curriculum. No sooner is the professional out of the newsroom and into the classroom than he starts to become dated as far as conveying the freshness of first-hand practical experience to students. Therefore, the journalism school needs to provide some continuing opportunity for students to come into dialogue with men and women who are currently working in the media. The Newspaper Fund's Editor-in-Residence Programs provide an opportunity for short-term exposure of this type. Other programs are being developed to provide longer exposure. For example, the University of Tennessee last year invited Turner Catledge, former executive editor and vice president of the New York Times to teach for a semester. Indiana, rather than filling its Riley Chair with one appointee, brings in working professionals for a month at a time to teach public affairs reporting. Under this plan, Indiana journalism students have had their work critiqued by such professionals as George Gill, managing editor of the Louisville Courier-Journal; Graham Hovey, editorial writer for the New York Times; and Arville Schaleben, associate editor of the Milwaukee Journal. Northwestern and Columbia have long called upon professionals from the Chicago and New York areas as part-time teachers.

Hence in a variety of ways and through a variety of persons it is possible to build a well-rounded faculty for the modern journalism program. But the task is not an easy one, for today's university is a complex and demanding place where individual careers are made and broken almost every day. Education may have undergone significant change since the days of classical empires and medieval states. Teachers may no longer be condemned by ruling Athenians, or martyred by the Sanhedrin, or persecuted by the Inquisition. But there are still methods of academic torture, still issues of academic life and death. The right to instruct depends upon presenting proper credentials. Tenure depends upon possessing acceptable degrees. Promotion depends upon meeting the research and publication requirements of academe.

The plea here is for the university establishment to recognize that there is more than one route to earning the doctorate, more than one way of achieving acceptable academic performance in journalism education. In short, the successful teaching of journalism requires instructors with professional media experience. The Ph.D. is desirable, but it need not be demanded of all members of the journalism faculty.

A Paper Supporting Proposition #5: Professional Activity Beyond the Classroom

One cannot be a good journalism teacher unless he engages in significant professional activity beyond the classroom. Such activity should lead to better teaching and should add to the knowledge of journalism.

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Many will regard this paper as an elaborate justification for--or perhaps rationalization of--the familiar academic axiom 'Publish or perish.' And indeed it is! But like much that is familiar, this axiom of academic life is seldom given much scrutiny. As a result, the axiom remains high in our consciousness while the supporting rationale has disappeared. The phrase is commonly regarded as an administrative dictum and fact-of-life for college professors that means "Get out there and produce those articles and books, or you are out of a job." Carried to its extreme this dictum reads: "Publish any article or book on any subject no matter how trivial. Just get it published. It's quantity, not quality, that counts." And here the outside critics have a field day pot shoting at the absurd titles of convention papers, dissertations, and journal articles. No examples need be given. Everyone has heard ample numbers.

But all of this occurs because the 'publish or perish' axiom--one of the central myths or tenets of academic life--is a mis-interpreted myth. Like many of our myths its meaning has shifted over time. 'Publish or perish' is not a dictum perpetuated by college administrators. It is a central fact of intellectual life. The individual who does not publish, who does not continuously engage in significant creative activity, will stagnate intellectually. An unused mind deteriorates. The active mind will find new challenges, new topics and problems to explore. And any journalist with new information or insights is going to rush into print with his material. To publish, to have a persistent motivation to write, is inherent to any journalist or communicator who is a real professional. Intellectual exploration and publication are the heart of the journalistic spirit.

Intellectual exploration means creative scholarship. It means research. Now in journalistic circles, much research is often described by the phrase "quantitative research" or even the pejorative "communicology." Both are bits of rhetorical sleight of hand that obscure the topic. Whether research uses numbers or not is hardly its most crucial attribute. Numbers are useful in some situations. In others they are not. Circulation, for example, seems a natural area for quantification. Professional ethics does not. But you don't always have to use numbers in circulation research. And there is no reason to autocratically exclude the possibility of quantification from research into professional ethics.

Nor does it matter whether one's research perspective is behavioral, humanistic, or something else. It is results that count. Any piece of research, any scholarship, that furthers our understanding of a topic is "good" research on that topic. Deadend research is no good, regardless of the perspective behind it.

Likewise, whether a given piece of research grows out of a general concern with mass communication, or a specific concern with newspapers, is really irrelevant. So to talk about quantitative research versus qualitative research, or to juxtapose communicology with whatever its opposite is supposed to be, is to waste time with irrelevant attributes. The criterion attribute on which research should be judged is its creativeness. Does it open up new vistas? Does it increase our understanding of the topic?

Research is as much a creative enterprise as painting, sculpture, or editing a newspaper. We tend, however, to stereotype the scholar in terms of his tools. This is especially true of the behavioral scientist involved in journalism research. He is commonly regarded as a technician with special competence in survey research, content analysis, or whatever. Every researcher, every scholar, is a technician. But so are painters, sculptors, and editors. There are tools to be used. But the essence of the enterprise is in how the tools are used. A popular mis-interpretation of the 'publish or perish' myth reads: "Use your tools. You have a hatchet. Find a tree to whack at!" The proper interpretation of this myth should read: "Use your tools to advance our understanding of journalism and to advance your own intellectual growth. Find a significant tree to fell. Don't wander around just whacking!"

As one editor complained recently: "Our editors get a mail survey to complete about once a week and perhaps there is some value in determining how many newspapers are doing a particular thing. For example--Who's using an ombudsman? But it would be a better project for someone to determine where a method is working well and to find out how and why."

His complaint is justified and his suggestion quite useful. The typical descriptive "whack" based on a mail questionnaire makes little contribution to our understanding of journalism and mass communication. Unfortunately, much of the research literature--and an even greater proportion of the research effort--consists of these whacks, a swipe at a problem here and another swipe there. The accumulation of knowledge has been slow and uneven because there has been little impetus for quality, systematic research. There has been little support from the bulk of practicing professionals for any kind of research. There are some key exceptions, but most of the trade comments on research have been the denigration of something that wasn't understood. In such an atmosphere it is little wonder that the quality of our knowledge is uneven. Fortunately, some of our universities--especially Stanford, Wisconsin, and Minnesota in the early days--stepped into the void and encouraged research on journalism and mass communication. These universities saw the key to professionalism in the systematic development of knowledge. Our oldest professions, law and medicine, are based on a rich accumulation of knowledge. Now the practice of any profession is an art--and some individuals are better at it than other individuals--but it is an art based on systematically accumulated knowledge.

Payoff in the Classroom

This systematic harvesting of the intellectual forest that researchers should be carrying out also has a key payoff for the classroom. Teaching and research are natural complements. In preparing for research on a topic the scholar begins with the current state of knowledge. He has to systematically review and assess the information already available. Scholars are compilers of what is already known. That is not scholarship, but it is the homework prerequisite to successful and useful scholarship. And this homework yields a tremendous lode of systematically organized information for use in the classroom.

This preparation for research insures a disciplined approach to the subject matter. Haphazard rambling makes for both poor scholarship and poor teaching. The research process imposes a sharp focus on the information collected. This is the missing ingredient in much classroom teaching. If one's goal is to advance understanding of a topic, to open up new areas, then his review of the literature must be systematic. The information collected must be organized into some coherent mosaic. A systematic grasp of the topic, a coherent overview, is necessary both for effective research and for effective teaching.

Such preparation assures a thorough presentation of the subject in the classroom, not just rambling, isolated remarks on a few facets. More importantly, it assures that both teacher and students will be aware of the gaps and uncertainties in our knowledge of journalism and mass communication. A systematic grasp of the subject is more likely to generate new questions and new insights. And the scholar's research interest will lend focus to the classroom discussion of these questions and insights. He will push for an orderly and thorough conceptualization of the ideas. He will seek sources of evidence to test their validity. A teacher-scholar will feel dissatisfied with classroom discussions limited to simple speculative forays.

Moreover, the teacher-scholar typically brings an enthusiasm to the classroom that is immediately apparent to the students. His keen interest in the subject matter can generate bright, provocative teaching. In contrast, unoriginal repetition of textbook material and accumulated examples most frequently generates pedestrian teaching.

Teaching and scholarship are not separate, distinct activities. They are highly intertwined. Just as research and preparation for research strengthens teaching, likewise the classroom can strengthen the research. There is nothing more demanding than to explain a body of information to someone else. Classroom use clarifies the research topic. The attempt to explain a problem to a class produces one of the scholar's best sources of feedback. To advance knowledge of an area, you must first thoroughly understand what is already known.

Publication provides a tangible measure of professional commitment and ability. Furthermore, publication insures peer review of one's performance. The heart of the academic publication process is the anonymous review of one's work by peers. Before an article is accepted for publication in a major research journal it is reviewed in detail by several readers (referees) selected by the journal editor. While the critiques of these referees) are made available to the author, their names are not. The process is anonymous to protect the objectivity of the reader. Now a legalistic approach to publication means publishing anywhere you can get in print. But what really counts is not the sheer number of publications; it is the number of refereed publications. These publications have been judged by knowledgeable people to be of sufficient quality to merit scarce journal space. Universities are imposing tighter and tighter quality controls on scholarly publication as a criterion for promotion. Promotion committees want to know about the quality of the journals and the number of refereed articles published. I would advocate going at least one step further. The overall pattern of scholarly effort should be examined. Has the individual concentrated his talents, or has he produces a shotgun pattern of research? Diversity of interests is certainly to be encouraged, but too much diversity--willy-nilly selection of research topics--severely limits the contribution of research to the profession. Academic freedom should not be a cover for dilettantism. But especially without tangible measures of performance it often is.

It is sometimes argued that a good teacher need not engage in research and publication himself. It is sufficient, goes the argument, if he keeps himself up to date by reading and studying the research of others. The hazards of this policy have already been enumerated. When no peer review is involved, when there is no tangible demand that the material be perfectly mastered, then many classroom teachers will not systematically update their teaching. We all know the stories about the professors who have used the same lecture notes for decades. Only the scotch tape holding them together is new.

It is far easier to assess the quality of the teacher-scholar's scholarship than it is to assess the quality of his teaching. But a successful publication record reveals a great deal about his preparation as a classroom teacher. The scholar who does not have an updated, systematic grasp of his topic will not have much of a publication record. On the other hand, if his knowledge is a current, organized mosaic of the topic, then we also will find a competent classroom teacher. It is the active, well-prepared teacher-scholar who contributes to the growth of journalism as a profession.

Editors and Educators

The job of the college professor is far more than to appear in a classroom a few hours each week and to do a bit of homework for that brief appearance. To define journalism education in terms of classroom teaching is equivalent to defining the position of editor in terms of the number of pieces of copy processed in a day. That's part of the job, but far from all of it. The solid professional in the newsroom has a commitment to more than processing "x" pieces of copy each day. And the journalism professor with any real professional commitment is more than a classroom teacher. Both the practitioner and the professor have important roles in assuring that the general public is well served by its news media. The overall commitment to the profession is common to both, while the precise contributions of each are complementary. The complementary nature of these contributions is best expressed in terms of time perspectives. The practitioner, of necessity, must be concerned primarily with the day-to-day issues of journalism and mass communication. But occasionally at professional meetings and conferences he greatly expands his time perspective, probing into the future, evaluating the past, taking a broad overview of journalism and mass communication.

Now the professor is not--and should not be--an exact duplicate of his professional colleague. Rather, he is the mirror image in which the relative emphasis on these time perspectives is reversed. There are deadlines and day-to-day concerns which occupy a part of his time. These largely result from teaching. But in teaching professional skills and providing an overview of journalism and mass communication the professor also must take--indeed should emphasize--the longer and broader view.

Contributing, Not Borrowing

Journalism education should be a contributor to, not a borrower from, the profession of journalism. Its contribution should not be limited to the training of new personnel, especially training strictly in job skills. The typical journalism course in college involves about 40 hours of instruction and perhaps an equivalent amount of outside practice. That's two weeks or so on the job. So when a newspaper colleague of mine remarked that he could teach a student any writing skill on the job that we could teach in a course at the university, I didn't disagree. If journalism education is always running back to the newsroom simply to polish up its job skills, then there is little rationale for its existence. The existence must be based on some contribution beyond the teaching of job skills to new entrants in the job market. Others can do that job as well, if not better. I might note here in passing that journalism's low status in many universities results from this emphasis on job skills, excessive borrowing from a profession with little original contribution to that profession.

On this basis I would argue, for example, that for journalism professors summer experience per se--that is, the academic returning to the city desk or copy desk for a few weeks in the summer--is of limited significance. On the other hand, if such experience stimulates new insights into the problems of professional journalism, and these insights are followed through with scholarly investigation, then such experience is valuable. Borrowing only job skills is of little value because the practitioners have more time and opportunity to teach them than we do in the university. Stimulating innovations and providing an overview of journalism is a contribution that the university can make which the practitioners do not have as much time or opportunity to make.

Let's take an example. For nearly ten years now governments from the municipal to the federal level along with social scientists have been developing a new approach to monitoring social conditions called "social indicators." Social indicators are measures--both qualitative and quantitative--

of the quality of life in our communities. The concern is not with how much, but with how good. The work done to date on social indicators has immense practical significance for journalism. It is yielding huge masses of information about our local communities and what is going on there. Any journalist who spent thirty minutes browsing in The Human Meaning of Social Change, one of the latest books on social indicators, would come away with ideas for at least a dozen major local stories. Because social indicators are based on social science research and methodology, teacher-scholars on journalism faculties with a behavioral orientation can shape and develop this new area as a major contribution to the practice of journalism. Phil Meyer of Knight Newspapers has used some of these new tools to produce some exciting public affairs reporting. A few more Phil Meyers are around producing great copy on local problems and topics--the quality of criminal justice, Negro militancy, voter behavior in local elections. To acquire any significant number of reporters capable of producing these kinds of stories means that journalism faculties must have the research-oriented people who can develop social indicators as a new approach to public affairs reporting and train future journalists in the classroom.

The academic has the responsibility to provide the profession with an integrated perspective of what has gone before, what is happening now, and especially what is coming in the future. The university structure as it exists in the United States is set up to provide this kind of service to virtually every segment of society. The best universities provide their professors with the time and the research resources to examine and reflect upon the nature of the society around them. In an industry which as a whole spends very little on research and development, this R&D function of the university is a valuable--and, I should add, underused--resource.

The university represents a valuable pool of talent which can be consulted on a wide variety of questions and problems. These might be questions specific to a single newspaper area, or questions pertinent to an entire professional group. This linkage between the scholar and the practitioner is vital to any profession. Such consultations represent significant professional activity on the part of the professor. Indeed, part of his commitment to the profession includes service to ASNE, ANPA, AEJ and the other professional associations of journalism. When such linkage is successful, it means that the practitioner gains new perspective on his specific situation, and that the scholar has successfully linked our general store of knowledge about communication to some specific facet of journalism. It often means that the scholar also sees new questions, new relationships, that are brought to the fore by the practitioner. Knowledge which is simply stored up does not grow. Knowledge in use tends to grow in sophistication.

Let's take an example. I have been interested for some time in the use of computerized record systems by reporters, especially in the new problems of access that arise when public records "disappear" inside a computer. In the course of writing a report on this topic for APME I achieved new insights into the problem. The linkage hopefully proved beneficial both to APME and to my thinking in this area.

Professional groups and the trade journals should initiate more linkages of this sort with scholars. These groups and publications should play the vital role of middleman between the individual practitioner and the individual scholar. By identifying significant problems and commissioning reports on them--both reviews of the literature and original research--general knowledge and daily practice could be more tightly integrated. It might be noted that this middleman role is the weak spot in nearly every profession. In public education, for example, the lag between development of new teaching techniques by researchers and their actual widespread adoption in the elementary and secondary school classroom is typically several decades. Active middlemen not only can speed up this process; they can enhance the quality of the knowledge being transmitted. Of course, if there were no basic research going on, there would be little to apply. But progress can be enhanced by the systematic application of our basic knowledge. And these applications can feed back and stimulate the basic research process. Significant professional activity should include a mixture of both applied and basic scholarship.

Testing New Approaches

Every enterprise must have some people who take the long view, who examine and test the feasibility of alternative courses of action. With mass communication now in the early stages of a technological revolution this kind of systematic thinking and examination is imperative. If any profession or social endeavor is to grow and progress systematically--rather than in convulsive fits and starts--it must have a well integrated team of practitioners and research people. Someone must be responsible for systematically taking the long view and the overview. And they must be in continuous communication with the practitioners who carry out the day-to-day operations.

This kind of teamwork is especially important as journalism enters a new age of mass communication technology. Television was the opening gambit. Computers are now becoming part of mass communication. They have vast applications beyond their current use in the backshop and for editing. Satellite transmission, video cassettes, computer-based information storage and retrieval systems, new applications of CATV--all these are now technologically feasible and will make their appearance in mass communication within the next decade. Exploring and evaluating the impact and the applications of these technologies is a major R&D job facing journalism. Who will make up the audiences for these new communication technologies? And what changes will this produce in the newspaper audience? What are people looking for in mass communication anyway? What motivates them to select one medium or another? One news story or another? Our definitions of news--the basic service or commodity of the profession--are anchored on very limited knowledge of audience perspectives and desires. What kinds of information services should we provide? These are major intellectual puzzles that journalism must solve. Solving them calls for the combined efforts of practitioners and academics.

The ivory tower and the city room can exist as complementary facets of journalism. There must be a city room. Someone has to produce the news copy. There must be an ivory tower. Someone has to take the broad perspective and provide guidance for charting the course ahead. We need overviews of what is happening now in journalism. We need people to explore the byways we may want to travel tomorrow.

For the city room, experience can guide much of the day-to-day behavior. Journalism has a rich legacy of tradition and experience. But with constant changes in the society about us we cannot afford to be frozen in by the past.

The ivory tower has considerably fewer constraints. Traditional practice is less important. And at the outset even practical feasibility can be set aside. Someone has to think--and to dream--if we are to progress. But scientists and scholars are pragmatists too. And eventually the best of the dreams and the ideas will be tested by the cold realities of empirical research and the mass communication marketplace.

If journalism education is to be a significant part of the profession--and there are plenty of practitioners who say it isn't--then it must be involved in these changes, not tagging along afterwards. Journalism faculties must be scholars and originators, not mimics. Challenges to established practices should be anticipated. And when the challenge appears, the response should be incisive, not groping and fumbling. This is the kind of significant professional activity that journalism professors should be engaged in. It contributes to the profession, both directly and in the classroom.

These complementary time perspectives of the academic and practitioner also help explain the recurring differences in points of view about the proper emphasis in journalism education: job skills versus a broad orientation to journalism. Wilbur Schramm once described it as training for the first six weeks on the job versus training for the last six years. That is, job skills with an immediate payoff versus a professional perspective that guides creative executive decisions. The dispute is not unique to journalism. It seems to be a fundamental point of controversy in all professional education. A law school dean once remarked to me that many firms were really saying: "Forget all that constitutional law and theoretical stuff. What we need are people who know where to go in the courthouse to file the papers."

Time and time again we hear editors emphasize the need for immediate job skills--proper punctuation and spelling, how to write a good lead. Maybe a course in law is good, they concede, with thoughts of libel suits lurking in the background. But courses in history, mass communication and society, and research methods! They just aren't practical. What we need are reporters who can turn out good copy!

And, of course, they are right--up to a point. But there is more to good journalism than simple job skills. Good journalism means a thorough understanding of society--what's out there to be described and explained--and a thorough understanding of mass communication--how do I tell those who are out there the 'what' and the 'why'. Beautiful prose--with good grammar and literary grace--may or may not communicate your message to the potential audience for the story. The intended audience for a news story is most often left implicit in the preparation of news stories. Hard evidence about who the audiences are for various kinds of information didn't really exist until about two decades ago. And much of the information that we have is rudimentary. Yet that audience--the 20% or so of your total circulation that will read a specific story--imposes a severe constraint on both the reporting and writing of a news story. At least it does so if the story is to really communicate, to really match up with the needs and interests of people out there. The good journalist has more than job skills. He has a comprehensive liberal education which enables him to use those skills creatively. To produce this good journalist, our faculties need teacher-scholars who are actively inquiring into such topics as the audiences for mass communication, not just instructors who parrot last decade's job skills.

Scholarship and Other Papers Presented at This Conference

Let's take still another look at the kinds of payoffs that come from teacher-scholar faculties. We have already mentioned coping with technological changes in the dissemination of news, of anticipating and planning for the future. That is an important area of scholarly concern and focus. But we can find equally strong examples much closer at hand--three of the other papers being discussed here.

"Social Science Reporting," by Philip Meyer concerns the application of social science research methods and techniques to reporting. Here we have some of the tools of scholarship being applied to a basic job skill, reporting. Obviously, if a teacher is going to train his students in the uses of these tools, he has to be skilled in their use himself. You can't cookbook your way to good reporting with magic formulas. The naive reporting of political polls in the press--polls which seem to say anything their political sponsors want them to say--testifies to what happens when an untrained person tries to use such tools.

Any teacher who really wants to contribute something through his teaching in this area must also be contributing directly to journalism through work-a-day use of these polls. This might be through applied research such as the election polls I assisted newspapers with last fall or through more basic research such as our investigations of the agenda-setting function of the press. If you really expect to understand research methodology, if your really want to get good reporting through its use, then you must gain considerable experience in its use. This means a steady scholarly output--both in basic and applied research. Part of the scholarly activity called for in this paper includes developing the skills and expertise that are needed to train students in the job skills described in the paper on social science reporting.

James Carey's paper, "Criticism of the Press," calls for journalism schools to contribute to the development of a systematic evaluation and public criticism of the press. This proposition is demanding a particular line of scholarship on the part of journalism faculties. While the exact kinds of projects needed or desired in this area may be debatable, it is interesting to note the implicit assumption of this proposition. It assumes that journalism faculties are composed of teacher-scholars who can perform this function, that academic duties are not limited to classroom instruction.

Jack Lyle's paper, "Study of Urban Life," brings us back again to the basic skills of reporting. This proposition calls for schools of journalism to acquaint their students with the information basic to the study of urban life. Again, the teacher is called upon to be a scholar. This proposition assumes that some journalism teachers have the necessary scholarly credentials to carry out this teaching assignment. One of the bodies of information mentioned there is the U.S. Census. Traditional approaches to newspaper reporting of the Census often read like a cursory rewrite of the world almanac. But a background in research and scholarship enables one to quickly grasp how this resource can be profitably mined both in the classroom and on the front page. For the person with some research experience, this is an area which will yield rich returns. The key is being a teacher-scholar. For the teacher, it is an area that can be profitably mined, but only with considerable scholarly investment. But then what this paper calls for is a continuing scholarly investment on the part of each journalism faculty member.

Other opportunities for profitable investments of scholarly effort are abundant. The creative researcher, like his counterparts in other creative enterprises, finds raw material all about him. The discussion of this paper has referred to a number of priority research areas. While there are some priorities that most of us would agree upon, there is no prescribed list of research topics. The essence of academic freedom is the freedom to pursue those areas of knowledge where the individual feels he can make the greatest contribution. Just as there is freedom in the selection of a topic, there obviously is also freedom to select the perspective or research method to be brought to bear on the topic. My discussion of specific topics--or anyone's discussion of specific topics, for that matter--falls into the realm of examples. The overriding principle is that of commitment to intellectual inquiry. That is what this paper is all about. Beyond this necessary commitment, I would like to discuss one other guiding principle dealing with the scope of scholarship.

Because of the time and expense involved, scholarship as I am using the term here seldom involves specific short-run questions. For example, will this specific picture if used on page one Sunday increase street sales? How can this particular story be rewritten to improve readers' understanding of its contents? These are specific, practical questions. But they are not research questions. Rather they are questions which can be answered--at least partially--from previous research. Their answers represent applications of knowledge produced by research.

Practical Research Questions

Since research costs money, a "practical" research question must be broader in scope. It must be abstract. That is, it must cover a general situation so that the answer obtained can be applied in a large number of specific situations. This means that every question in which it is practical to invest research time and money is abstract. It is theoretical. But that is a very relative statement. Both Galileo's statement that two balls of unequal weight will fall to the earth at the same speed and Einstein's mathematical statement $E=MC^2$ are theoretical statements. But they are statements of vastly different scope. Similarly, the kinds of theoretical statements that communication scholars make differ vastly in their scope.

Short-term, limited theoretical statements are often urged because they have obvious practical applications. But they also have very limited applications. Findings about readability, reader response to headlines and photographs, and what kinds of people buy two newspapers have quick, but narrow, applications. Circulation offers some excellent examples. The effects of delivery service and family demographic characteristics on subscriptions to the local newspaper are useful research findings. But a more comprehensive look--that is, theory of broader scope--would go much farther toward explaining why newspaper circulation forms the pattern it does.

To take a personal example, some research I did for Scripps-Howard Newspapers on the economics of mass communication came up with substantial evidence for a broad theoretical assertion that a fixed proportion of the economy goes to mass media. This fixed piece of pie is then sub-divided by the various media in the marketplace. This broad theoretical guideline, the Principle of Relative Constancy, led to a specific hypothesis in a survey for a local newspaper which just turned daily. Since the market was already covered by dailies from at least three nearby cities, the Principle of Relative Constancy suggested that a person's income would be a major determinant in subscribing to this new daily edited as a local news supplement. And this was exactly the case. More subscribers fell in the $10,000-$15,000 income group than any other and income was a better predictor than other characteristics. The survey also found that $10,000 was the dividing point between taking a single daily newspaper versus subscribing to two newspapers. Now one could have arrived at these findings via other routes. But the Principle of Relative Constancy led us directly to these questions and offered a context for explaining the findings.

We have long known of the existence of some correlation between income and subscribing to a newspaper. But the point here is that the Principle of Relative Constancy suggested that income would be the major correlate of taking the Chapel Hill Newspaper because it was edited and marketed as a supplementary newspaper. Since only a limited amount of consumer spending goes to mass media, a second newspaper would find economic support only among consumers in the upper income brackets. Any good theory suggests specific questions to be asked in specific situations and offers a context for assessing the plausibility of the answers obtained. Nor is the cited bit of economic theorizing limited to questions of newspaper circulation. The Principle of Relative Constancy offers guidance to the questions of increasing newspaper concentration and joint operating agreements, and to the feasibility of the new communication technologies now on the horizon.

Exclusive pursuit of short-run research questions, of limited theoretical assertions, is a dilettantic approach to knowledge. Such an approach often yields hard evidence for our intuitive hunches, but seldom leads to totally new and unanticipated findings. Careful preparation of a few mosaic tiles is better than nothing at all. But the preparation of a broad array of related tiles begins to yield a comprehensive picture. The scholar who concentrates on outlining the broad theory of an area ultimately makes the greater contribution.

If the value of research and the theory it yields is measured by the number of applications made over time, then broad, rather abstract theories are far more practical investments than are narrow, specific questions. There are numerous pressures to produce short-term, easily applied research findings. And these pressures should be responded to, not ignored. But long term programs of scholarship also are needed in order to systematically map the many facets of journalism.

Constructing these maps--the small ones and, especially, the large ones--is an exciting intellectual enterprise. Professional responsibility demands it and the professional spirit should have instilled it in every journalism professor. Scholarship as an integral part of journalism school activity assures education for journalism, not just journalism training.

A Paper Supporting Proposition #9: Mastery of a Non-journalism Discipline

The journalism student should acquire some mastery of a discipline beyond the skills and knowledge he acquires in journalism and in general education courses.

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Taken on its face, the proposition is unexceptionable. The journalist who knows more than others know about some area or areas of knowledge is certainly more competent to write about them. Potentially, he is a better communicator, at least on those subjects.

To the extent that education can be used to gain such mastery for the embryo journalist, the objective is a worthy one. Where the formal educational process may fall short of the desirable goal is a function of lack of time, and the pressures exerted upon both the student and the educational institution.

"Mastery" of a discipline is, of course, a matter of degree. No discussant of this proposition could reasonably suggest that the term should be taken to mean expertise or even a specialization. An appropriate premise is that the mastery expected is a reasonable competence in the methodology of the discipline, a more-than-casual familiarity with its literature and language, and the development of enough interest and knowledge that the student can continue his self-education in the field.

The capacity for continuing self-education is a key point. The journalist needs a whetted curiosity and must know how to feed that curiosity. So, the actual knowledge may be considered to be an incidental benefit.

That is to say, one of the important functions of seeking competence in a particular field is to equip the student with a clearer understanding of how knowledge is derived and the importance of accuracy in that knowledge. If he knows enough, as a reader, to be annoyed by the shortcomings of an article on a subject about which he knows a great deal (an experience nearly all of us have suffered through), then he will at least be encouraged to be more penetrating and perceptive as a writer on the events he faces as a communicator.

The mastery of a field, if it is one of continuing particular interest to the student, may form a basis for a specialization he may develop as a reporter or editor, but not necessarily. It may serve its purpose simply by giving him greater insights and broader perspectives on those elusive truths that lie among facts.

It is appropriate, in passing, to remember and to caution students against the dual hazards of dilettantism and narrow specialization. As a practical matter, the danger of dilettantism is the more threatening, for as will be demonstrated later in this paper, it is a rare undergraduate who can find the time to become a specialist. But if the student misperceives himself as an expert after only modest penetration of a field, he has committed an unpardonable adolescent arrogance, and may never be able to discern the fine line between truth and falsehood.

Informants, readers and writers all bring biases to their perceptions of events. In the control of bias (or at least the honest disclosure of bias) we must expect the most stringent self-discipline by journalists. Even that is not enough. If the press is to remain influential and informative, its practitioners can never be content with a superficial recounting of the most readily apparent "facts." So journalists must know enough to comprehend those various biases, including their own, or they will fail to find the wholeness of the truth in the events they cover. A story told in less than a wholeness of comprehension puts the elements of the story in defective relationship. Partial knowledge more often than not leads a writer to be infatuated with trivia and to overlook points of critical importance.

It is for reasons like these that we wish our young journalists to have acquired some competence in particular fields--not alone for the information they gather in that study, but for the ability it gives them to comprehend the ways knowledge can be structured, and to synthesize what they have learned with what they see and are told, as they deal with transpiring events as communicators.

These seem to be obvious principles. Before investigating concrete ways and means of working up a satisfying curriculum either through establishing requirements or letting a student tailor-make his course to this purpose, it is appropriate to relate this proposition to others in this symposium.

It is argued elsewhere that the intellectual skills of journalism are acquired through liberal, general education, and that journalism course content and teaching should be liberalizing. Other propositions inveigh the values of studying research methods of the social sciences, theory of communication, the role of mass communication in attitude formation, elements of persuasion, contemporary issues, urban problems, and the impact of economic factors and new technology on society and communications practice.

An apt sub-title for this paper might be: How much education can be committed upon a student in four years?

A commentator with good information and full comprehension of current attitudes and practices should, I suppose, be able to answer with some valid generalizations. Heaven knows the literature in the field is replete with opinions and generalizations. The gemstones of validity are fewer and hard to find. The situation is understandable.

The information is hard to assemble. It lacks consistency. Attitudes of journalism educators vary as widely as their practices, and the attitudes and actions of practitioners--the editors and publishers who hire the graduates--adds to the variation.

Schools and departments of journalism are marked by an exceptional degree of diversity. They are also changing as they grow. Trends in curriculum and organization suggest that the usual pressures in the natural history of academic development are in full sway. The combination of academic politics and the earnest search for the germane body of knowledge and universal principles seems evident in many recent developments. It is seldom possible for a journalism school to attract support and respect from academic colleagues in traditional disciplines if the school's faculty deals in training practices and mechanical, descriptive, survey research. That's one pressure. Another is the constraint upon a scholar who seeks to explain rather than to describe. A natural path for the researcher is into the broader fields of behavioral or communication theory, with their innumerable branches, esoteric language and abstract concepts.

A respectable hypothesis is that these pressures have generated some of the proliferation of course offerings at the top, advanced levels, of sequences, and have motivated reorganization of journalism schools into schools, colleges and departments of "communication."

Most evident to a systematic reviewer of the journalism education scene and its literature is the appearance of divided loyalties of journalism educators: They search for a true definition of a body of knowledge to strengthen their academic enterprise and academic ties, while at the same time they make defensive utterances aimed at keeping their fences mended with editors and publishers who press upon them more practical and more urgent considerations.

From the viewpoint of an interested but distant observer, it appears that, by the intellectual nature of journalistic enterprise and as a resultant of the historical development of journalism education, the ties between educators and practitioners in the field of journalism have been closely maintained. But equally, one of the clearest characteristics of journalism education is that it is marked with uncertainty of purpose. The universities in which journalism schools are embedded are inclined to insist that the job of training, as opposed to education of the intellect, is not appropriate for those institutions--that if the employers want technicians or journeymen, there is a better, more efficient, more economical way to produce them. But for the journalism school faculty it is difficult to resist the expectancies of those in the industry who clearly care seriously about the preparation of journalists and are the ones who hire the graduates. In the surveys asking editors and publishers what they want, it is a rare employer who remembers that it is not essentially the job of the journalism school to train the student for his first job, but to educate him so that in the full flower of his maturity he meets the imposing ideals we have for American journalists.

The comment is offered not in criticism of either educators or editors, but as a sympathetic observation of one of the most severe problems in developing theories of journalism education, and as one applying specifically to the proposition this paper defends.

The diversity which exists in journalism curricula is far to be preferred to a mealy standardization. Academic politics can be decried, and it does call forth bizarre behavior and strange-sounding rationalizations from otherwise thoughtful and even brilliant men and women, but it exists as an established environmental factor which must be dealt with patiently and at length. The desires and prejudices of practitioners are similarly environmental factors, to be changed if at all over time and by demonstration of educational values as well as by persuasion.

Further compounding of the agony for the generalizer occurs in the various forms and practices followed by academic institutions. For attainment of the B.A. degree, some use a course system with each course roughly equivalent to 4 credit hours and 30-32 courses required for graduation. Others use a course system, each course roughly equated to 3 credit hours, and 36-40 courses required for the degree. Some mix these course weights, and require 36 courses. Some retain the semester-hour credit system and require courses equivalent to 120-128 hours for graduation. Others use a quarter-hour system with 180 quarter hours required. Some 450 institutions add one-month January programs; some require them, some don't.

Even within the news-editorial sequences in schools of journalism there is such variation in criteria and practice as to confound the philosopher.

In a study of 52 of the 54 news-editorial sequences accredited in 1971-72* Professor Trayes found (after converting quarter hours, etc., to a semester-hour norm for comparability) that requirements ranged broadly in the minimum total hours to achieve the baccalaureate degree with a major in journalism--from a low of 119 to a high of 136. He reported that in 35 accredited sequences the schools and their parent institutions required a minimum of 125 or fewer semester hours for graduation, while 17 others required minimums between 126 and 136.

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*Edward J. Trayes, Ph.D., Associate Professor, Department of Journalism, Temple University, "ACEJ-Accredited News-Editorial Programs, 1971-72: A Comparative Study of Course Offerings and Program Requirements," a paper prepared for presentation to the Newspaper Division, Association for Education in Journalism Convention, Southern Illinois University, August, 1972, by permission of the author.

Trayes, by the way, was not only noting variations but surveying the degree of observance by the schools of the ACEJ guide suggesting "about one-fourth/three-fourths as an equitable ratio between courses in journalism and courses in the arts and sciences." Here, too, he found widely ranging practice. Half the schools listed maximum requirements. Twelve had maximums between 30 and 34 semester hours and 14 maximums between 35 and 42. Some of these permitted exceptions and the other half (26) of the schools stated no maximum. He also reported that the proportion between journalism courses required (the stated minimum) and total semester hours ranged from 19.4 percent to 33.9 percent. The Trayes paper is a valuable digest of other practices with respect to required courses within the news-editorial sequence, and as a test of the ACEJ accrediting standard that "...all students should be instructed in the basis elements of reporting and editing and the theory, history, and responsibility of mass communication."

The problem becomes, then, that whenever a model is built, a generalization uttered, or a criterion pronounced, some one or several are certain to say: "Oh, that isn't the way it is (or could be) at our university at all."

To fulfill the purpose of this paper, it is none the less necessary to walk into the teeth of the mower.

That is, to discover whether it is indeed possible to satisfy the wishes of editors and publishers who hire, to include the areas of study put forth as desirable by educators, and to meet all the demands put upon the student and the curriculum as expressed or implied in the propositions being discussed in this conference, it is necessary to have some models to look at.

Then it may be possible to discern whether it is in fact possible for a student to acquire some mastery of a discipline beyond the skill and knowledge he acquires in journalism and in general education courses, and to put it into context with the wish that journalism candidates be both broadly and deeply educated and at the same time equipped with skills of the trade.

(Here it must be noted that the review committee urged that these papers deal with traditional newspaper journalism, not other media, and that they emphasize the editorial enterprise rather than other aspects of the journalism industry such as advertising, promotion, circulation, production and management.)

To make the problem manageable, and to test its limits, the question devolves to this: Can the student major in journalism and also another field; can he carry a double major?

Taking arbitrarily the time-honored New York Regents 120 credit hours for the Bachelor's degree as one norm, and the ACEJ's one-fourth/three-fourths proportion of journalism to arts and sciences as another, the curriculum of a journalism student seeking (a) general education, (b) mastery of a field, and (c) a major in journalism news-editorial sequence might follow the pattern shown in Figure 1. (In the style of the New Journalism, this will present a composite--not a specific institution but typical of a journalism school in a University. The exercise is rigorous, for it must take into account distribution requirements imposed by Specimen University, departmental concentration requirements, and possibly also the student's option to proceed to graduate school, as well as the J-school requirements and some of the other desiderata noted above.)

Figure I
Student Smith of Specimen University

Freshman

Semester I		Semester II	
English Comp.	3	English Literature	3
Intro to Art	3	American Government	3
French I	3	French II	3
Math	3	Math	3
U.S. History	3	History of ______	3
Physical Education	0	Physical Education	0
	15		15

Sophomore

Semester I		Semester II	
Intro to Sociology	3	Intro to Anthropology	3
History of Music	3	Intro to Psychology	3
Economics	3	Economics	3
Science & Lab	4	Science & Lab	4
Eng. (Novel)	2-3	Current World Problems	2-3
	15-16		15-16

Junior

Semester I		Semester II	
Mass Communications	3	Communications Law	3
News Writing	3	News Editing	3
History of Journalism	3	Public Affairs Writing	3
Political Parties	3	State & Local Government	3
Public Opinion	3	International Politics	3
	15		15

Note: At this point, student has 18 hours in Journalism toward 30 for one-quarter of his curriculum (ACEJ) or 36 for Journalism major, and 18 hours toward 36 for major in Political Science.

Senior

Semester I		Semester II	
Reporting Contemporary Issues	3	News Evaluation and Presentation	3
Journalism Lab or Practicum	3	Journalism Lab or Practicum	3
Political Science Major		Political Science Major	
Public Administration	3	Political Thought/Theory	3
Urban Politics	3	American Foreign Policy	3
Constitutional Problems	3	Civil Liberties	3
	15		15

Viewed superficially, without keen memory of university life, nearly all the stated goals seem to have been met. Our student seems to have been exposed to all the major areas of culture and knowledge for a good general education ... has the 36 hours for a major in political science (or could have been shown similarly to have met a major in other social science areas)...and has the 25 per cent of journalism courses giving modest exposure to "the basic elements of reporting and editing, communications law and the theory, history and responsibility of mass communication" called for by ACEJ standards. (He does not have a major in journalism.) So the model may be taken to show that it is possible, quantitatively, to package the university for all these purposes (if the student is docile and malleable enough to be content with these manipulations).

But the model program does have some signal deficiencies.

From the standpoint of an educator, the general education is weak. It is a generally accepted fact that, at the present level of the development of knowledge, introductory courses in such areas as sociology, anthropology, psychology and even economics really serve only to familiarize the student with the jargon and, superficially, with the methodology of that discipline. Except for courses established as broad-gauged survey courses, the introductory courses generally tend to prepare the student for upper-level courses. The adventure, the fulfilling of curiosity, and the real learning about the field come in more advanced courses (for which the Introduction is a prerequisite--a tight little circle.)

The package doesn't accommodate the curiosities and interests of students who are of the sort we would want to become journalists.

Skimming the surface after the manner of the model is not very satisfying to an earnest student, and would be deadeningly dull for the average student.

There is another human factor to be considered. Some of the values of study in a major field cannot be written into catalogs and course titles. Even in the largest and most impersonal university, one of the values in majoring, as it is viewed today, is to be found in the participation of the student in the conversations and concerns of the advanced students and faculty in the department, and in the experience of using the discipline either to investigate phenomena and make a discovery, or to synthesize what others have discovered. That opportunity is not readily available in the minimal, course-only, major described in the model. The student embarked on such a minimal program is unlikely to attract the interest and support of a faculty.

It also seems, from the viewpoint of an educator, that the student would have failed to keep his option open for advanced study if he followed such a program.

He might be attractive to a graduate faculty in journalism or communications as a candidate for graduate study, but not so attractive as if he had some more intensified capability in one area or another. He would be an even less attractive candidate to a graduate department in his major discipline or to a professional school, unless he had some redeeming features like near-perfect grades, ample time and money to support his own study, and exceptional recommendations.

It asks a great deal for a young man or woman to decide on a career course before entering college or university, to pattern his or her education in a precise way which may prevent following the development of new interests, and (especially for the eager, curious student of bright mind) to foreclose the opportunity to continue into graduate work which might substantially extend that student's capability to comprehend human affairs and communicate about them. Such a course may therefore be considered academically unsound.

For the sake of argument, and in behalf of those who maintain that the general education and mastery of a field of knowledge are more important than so-called skill courses, let's do another exercise to discover how much can be contained in a "composite-typical" four-year liberal arts college curriculum, and how much refinement it would require to convert that program to the training of a beginning journalist.

To exhibit typical college practice, the specimen curriculum of Model College in Figure 2 is based on a course system, with 32 courses required for the B.A. degree, with an optional January program devoted to independent study projects, and a major requiring 10 courses in the department and related supporting course work from cognate areas. As typical of college practice, the distribution requirements exist but are minimal.

The aspiring journalist's course of study might look like the following:

Figure 2
Student Jones in Model College

Freshman

Semester I
Mathematics
English Comp.
U.S. History
French I
Phys. Ed.

January
Photography
or Film
Project

Semester II
Science (with Lab)
English Literature
American Government
French I
Phys. Ed.

Sophomore

Semester I
Economics I
Political Parties
History of Art or Music
Statistical Analysis

January
Drama Workshop
(or How to Read
a Newspaper)

Semester II
Economics II
History of ________
Psychology
Anthropology

Junior

Semester I
Sociology
Philosophy
Political Research
Environmental Studies
or The Women's Movement

January
Critical
Writing
Seminar

Semester II
Urban Semester
or
Semester Abroad

Senior

Semster I
American Constitution
Western Political
Thought
International Politics
Problems in Government
(tutorial)

January
News Reporting
Internship

Semester II
Race Relations
Contemporary Revolutionary
Movements
Foreign Policy
Pressure Groups/Public Opinion

To fulfill its purpose of also equipping the student with knowledge of journalism and necessary skills, there would have to be added to the above (1) some experience and training in writing about real events, (2) history of journalism and law of the press, and (3) some exposure to the role and responsibilities of the press--perhaps a seminar in the mass media and society. An enterprising college might accomplish this with some substitution of courses, and by specially designed courses in summer semesters or a post-graduate semester.

The Model College program suffers some of the same deficiencies as those noted for the Journalism School program in Specimen University. In an effort to satisfy the interests of those who want the student to be exposed to great variety in his general education, the curriculum tends to skim over everything except the major field. The same unsatisfying tasting-but-not-chewing of some fields considered important to the understanding of the human condition is present (again in anthropology, sociology, psychology, for example), even though courses in the college course system tend to be of somewhat greater scope and depth than the three-hour courses under the credit-hour system.

A number of variants on the two models suggested above are possible, of course.

At least one university journalism school in the rapid survey of curriculum patterns on which this paper is based gives students the option of taking 18 hours of courses outside of journalism in two subject matter fields instead of the 36 hours required for a major in either one. This would surely be intriguing to the curious student. A question remains as to whether that shallow penetration in those fields represents a desired degree of mastery. But it may well give the strength of depth to the general education component.

A promising alternative is the further development of 3-2 programs (3 years of college education followed by 2 years in Journalism School, with the award either of two baccalaureate degrees, or simultaneously a B.A. from the college and a Masters in Journalism from the University). The 3-2 programs are more commonly accepted and have proven successful in engineering, forestry and other fields.

The crowding and superficiality of the general education displayed in the models is surely the basis for the argument advanced by some that professional training for journalism should be at the graduate level, and therefore based on a rounded education and involving more mature students.

The question inevitably inserts itself: What can be done through education to assure the sound preparation of a journalist?

About one year ago (October 26, 1972), Managing Editor Elwood M. Wardlow of the Buffalo Evening News, in a circular letter, listed the following as the most important qualities he looks for when hiring a new reporter: intelligence, effectiveness (ability to get things done), curiosity, knowledge, comprehension ("piecing together" bits of information), judgment, persistence, literacy (craftsmanship with the language), motivation, and personal stability (character, personality, appearance, bearing, manner, etc.).

Of these ten attributes, it can be reasonably expected that formal education will have an effect only on two, directly, and one other, perhaps, in an indirect way. Knowledge, of course, is to be gained through schooling, and experience in craftsmanship with language. The ability to relate discrete facts and synthesize them into a whole may be reinforced and strengthened in the learning process, but the teaching of synthesis is a subtle and elusive thing. All the rest of those attributes are equipment a student brings with him and can seldom or never be instilled.

In any event, there is justification in the models and argument above for requirements (or professional advising) aimed at making certain that prospective journalists receive something more than sips and tastes in their higher education. To allow it to be accomplished practically, the pursuit of mastery can be held to less than a major concentration. The growing fashion of permitting and even encouraging inter-disciplinary study or the tailor-making of special curricula by the collection of courses in related disciplines and bringing them to bear upon a broad problem area, with a synthesizing exercise (a thesis, for example) at the end, commends itself to the aspiring journalist.

The insistence on mastery (or masteries) would seem to put this proposition into contest with the demand for a broad, liberalizing general education. But it need not be so. The requirements, which can be easily stated, that a student must study in more depth than introductory courses in fields like psychology, anthropology, sociology, other areas of the behavioral sciences, represents simply a refinement of the requirement for general education. It is a defensible position. There is a degree of transference and generalization from the study of a field in depth which achieves the same purpose as surveying the disciplines generally.

But the problem is not yet solved. There is an inescapable reality evident from this exploration: There is not sufficient time in an undergraduate program of study to get the necessary general, liberal education, and also to explore the occupational course offerings fully, and also to gain a respectable competence in one academic subject matter (or to commit to a major in an interdisciplinary field like environmental studies, urban problems, an area study or other current problem area, for that matter).

Something must take high priority, and something must yield.

The determination to be made, then, is what combination of possible study will help the student to make himself, in the long run, the most successful journalist-communicator. Shall the universities and colleges find their test of success in first placements of students in the industry, depending alone on the ACEJ criterion that the journalism school graduate shall have "in his first employment a distinct advantage over a nonjournalism educated graduate as to reliability and general productivity"? Shall the journalism schools, despite repeated insistence in the literature of journalism education that students must engage with organization theory, group behavior, high levels of psychology and economic analysis, etc., etc., advise or require students to choose between sociology and anthropology--to study one in depth rather than get exposed to both? Shall the newspapers and other organizations of journalism content themselves to hire young men and women with training in practical skills, and depend on their native intelligence to carry them upward in the profession?

What is to be emphasized and what is to be given up is, in the end, a judgment call.

My own bias, built up from memories of newspapering, contact with young reporters over the years, experience as an educator, and the recurring testimony of practicing newsmen, is that the general education and study in depth supersede in importance the "skill" courses. I would hold the journalism school requirements to a bare minimum, in the belief that the mysteries of 5-W leads, head counting, slugs and inserts and new leads--the mechanics of newspapering--can be conveyed to an intelligent individual effectively on the job and in a short time. I would preserve some exceptionally important content of the journalism school curriculum which has the same character as general education. I act on a biased premise also that while student publications instruct in the mechanics of journalism, they are generally bad laboratories for journalists, reinforcing shallow attitudes and shoddy practices. In my hierarchy of priorities, that kind of liberal education made up of exposure to the several major areas of culture and knowledge for breadth, and study in depth for the rigor of learning, are more important than occupational training.

Certainly, unique values are to be found in a journalism school, and they should be considered in any reform of journalism education. It is surely undeniable that there is an educational function for a student in being able to share experience and conversation with other students of similar interests and motivations, as he can do in the journalism school circumstances.

Importantly, the journalism school remains, by and large, one of the last remaining bastions for the teaching of the craft of using language. Departments of English have abdicated this role, as their members become more professionally oriented to literature and linguistics. The talent and purpose of teaching a love of language and giving practice in what language will do should not be lightly given up.

Moreover, it is possible for journalism school faculties, by dint of great effort and skill (and concurrently with either unusual courage or, more rarely, the tolerance of disciplinary purists in other realms of Academe) to bring to bear particular knowledge from other disciplines as they help students to analyze events and do journalism. Well taught by well qualified faculty, such courses are the epitome of synthesizing general education. Superficially treated, or taught by less than superbly qualified persons, those courses are barely better than snake oil medicine shows.

A Time magazine survey story recently led this: "U.S. journalism school are improving these days because they are teaching less journalism." The same story extolled the enterprise of a university journalism school that offers courses in urban problems, education, science and technology--and a course in the U.S. legal system which one student grumbled about because it was "just like an advanced political science course." That--the rejoinder was--is exactly what it was supposed to be.

That sort of thing is a saving grace and may mean salvation. It is a part of the important content of journalism school curricula mentioned above as worth preserving--along with critical studies of the role and impact of the press, the relation of the press to law and society, and the responsibilities of the mass media.

There is reason to believe that a movement compensating for some of the ills of higher education and in particular of professional education can be now dimly perceived on the horizon. Some believe it is gathering momentum and will have its effect on all of higher education. The movement finds allies slowly among faculty members, more readily among eager students. It is reinforced by the "felt need" to integrate and synthesize the traditional divisions of knowledge, and by the demand of students for interdisciplinary approaches. Students will, as they have before in history, have a most persuasive impact on this movement. Their own present and growing inclinations toward career-oriented course work will surely have an influence on colleges and universities. That influence is already being keenly felt. Appropriately managed, it gives opportunity for constructive curriculum innovation in many fields of knowledge. Specifically, it opens opportunity for university journalism schools and high-performance liberal arts colleges, either separately or in combination, to generate stimulating new routes to journalism.

It appears, then, that the real answer to this question and some others posed in this symposium will be answered by a more radical surgery and reform of journalism education than has been posited here. In particular, the challenging opportunity for journalism school faculties to bring into their personnel more of those who can directly relate the content of significant academic disciplines to the practice and theory of journalistic endeavor holds the most promise for significant new curricula and thus for a lasting solution to current educational problems.

This new movement, if it can be sustained, affords a far better route to the preparation of sound working journalists than any number of problems of piling 3- and 4-hour building blocks of courses one on top of the other.

A Paper Supporting Proposition #10: Study of Urban Life

Since understanding his own community and its people is essential for every journalist, schools of journalism should acquaint journalism majors with the data and research basic to the study of urban life.

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Journalists as a group are supposed to be the "watchdogs" of the community, performing what Harold D. Lasswell has called the "surveillance of the environment." For most journalists that environment is the local scene. Thus we have the proposition that the journalist should be acquainted with the "anatomy" of his community.

There are two concepts which I feel are central to any discussion of this proposition.

1. THE JOURNALIST IS A NEWS COMMUNICATOR

The journalist is a news communicator; his job is to communicate to his audience the substance of events and people. "News communication" may sound like putting on airs, but there's a practical reason for emphasizing "communication" rather than just saying "reporting." The journalist is trying to create what Walter Lippmann long ago called "the pictures in the mind" of the public. Depending upon which medium he works for, the journalist tries to do this through the skillful use of words, pictures, sounds.

Lippmann pointed out that most of the individuals who make up the public cannot personally experience much of the real world environment. Instead, there is what he called their "pseudo-environment."* This is a dynamic composite of all their mental pictures, if you will, of places, events, people they know only through what they have read, seen or heard in the reports of others. When they are asked to react as voters and concerned citizens to events, issues and candidates, they must react in terms of this pseudo-environment rather than in terms of a real world of real people they personally know. To a very large extent the reports from which the individual constructs this pseudo-environment are the reports which journalists provide him through the news media.

This situation puts a tremendous burden and responsibility upon the journalist as an individual and upon the news media collectively. If those reports fail to adequately and/or accurately reflect the real situation, the individual members of the public may respond inappropriately to public issues and personages. In Public Opinion, Lippmann details examples of how even supposedly sophisticated members of the public—members of the U.S. Senate—have been led astray by inadequate news reports. In The Information Machines, Ben Bagdikian presents contemporary anecdotes of a similar nature.

Trickery and other types of manipulation of the pseudo-environment is the stock-in-trade of the pitchman and the propagandist. Intentionally or not, such techniques may find their way into the messages of those who are engaged in advocacy of one kind or another. But they should be anathema to the journalist if he is a news communicator because, by definition, communication means the transmission of information without distortion. But as Lippmann, Bagdikian and others have pointed out, distortion can and does make its way into the news. This situation has profound implications for a society founded, as is ours, on the operational philosophy of representative democracy.

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*The reader who finds this term offensive as "jargon" is asked to be indulgent. "Mental picture," "composite picture"—terms the editor suggested as substitutes—do not sufficiently express the dynamic aspects by which the many "mental pictures" combine into a psychological force for the individual.

How can such distortion occur? Where in the news communication chain does it occur? There are two such points where it is possible that have pertinence for this discussion.

First, there can be a failure on the part of the journalist himself. He may inaccurately perceive and interpret the situation he is reporting. Or he may fail to give appropriate importance to something that happens on his beat and thus fails to tell his audience about the condition or event.

The staff of the Los Angeles Times, for instance, has been castigated for not having alerted their readers to a rising tension among the black residents of that city until conditions reached a boiling point and the tension exploded into violence. The irony of this situation is that the Times staff was doing a highly praiseworthy job at that time of covering the civil rights battles in the South. The Mass Media Task Force of the Violence Commission details other instances when the media was felt to have contributed to civil disorders and violence due either to errors of omissions or commission in reporting situations and events.

At a UCLA symposium several years ago, Charles Evers and other black participants complained how the journalists had created "black leaders" with no real constituency, but who were merely available "spokesmen." In fact, Evers contended, they frequently spoke only for themselves.

Members of most campus communities can detail instances where local media have grossly distorted issues and protest activities on their campus. As a former member of a campus community, I have a strong feeling that this "distorted" reporting is responsible in part for what appears to be a public reaction against higher education.

Second, the distortion can be the work of the reader or viewer himself. As Wilbur Schramm has pointed out, to be effective communication (among other things) must gain the attention of the audience and be presented in terms which are meaningful to them. Knowledge and understanding of the public generally, but in particular of his own audience, is essential for the journalist. Part of the requirements for developing skill as a journalist is the ability to select and use appropriate terms and frames of reference with which he can help his audience create a pseudo-environment which will accurately correspond to the real world.

Again using a campus illustration, I recall a story a colleague on another campus told me. During the reaction to the Kent State shooting of 1969, he was able to channel some of the energies of his students into a survey of public opinion toward both the Kent State situation and campus reactions. These students, not realizing how isolated the campus community frequently is, were shocked to learn that many respondents were not angered by the Kent State incident, but by the student reaction. Further, they were stunned by the frequently bitter denunciation of their own campus by residents of what they had assumed was a sympathetic community. For the first time perhaps, these students realized that as a group they had a "communication gap" with the public.

The point is that the journalist and would-be journalist need to know as much as possible about the audience so that they can fulfill the necessary pre-conditions for effective news communication. In an article in the May 12, 1973 New Yorker, Calvin Trillin tells how a picture in the Gallup (New Mexico) paper of Caucasian policemen examining the body of a slain Indian protester radicalized what had been an apathetic Indian population. It is doubtful if that was the intention of the paper's editor. A student of mine at the University of Pennsylvania's Annenberg School detailed a similar event in Philadelphia, a shoot-out between the Black Panthers and the police. Unwittingly, the reports in the daily press turned the sympathy of the black community in favor of the Panthers and worked toward a polarization of blacks and whites. In both these instances the newsmen could have avoided offending the minority readers and still told the story if they had given consideration to their sensitivities. To be able to do that assumes awareness of such sensitivities and that means knowing your readers.

2. THE URBAN COMPLEX AS A COMMUNICATION SYSTEM

The second concept which I feel is basic to the consideration of Proposition #10 is the concept of the urban area as a "communication system." One way to approach the study and understanding of groups is to focus on the way their individual members interact with one another. As our urban areas have grown, they have developed into clusters of groups (of many kinds) and one way we can study such areas is to look at the way those groups interact.

It sometimes comes as a shock to those of us in the news field to learn that other people feel they are involved in urban communication. If you examine a catalog of university courses, you will find courses with "communication" in the title in such varied departments as sociology, psychology, political science, marketing, engineering, medicine, social welfare, not to mention journalism. The existence of these courses is indicative of types of professional activities within today's urban areas of which the journalist needs to be aware.

Traffic engineers speak of the city's communication patterns, referring to the flow of vehicles and people. City planners and architects speak of the necessity for providing for various types of "communication" between people and between people and services and facilities. The epidemiologists of the Public Health Department not only worry about "communicable diseases," but also about the communication of preventive information.

These professionals have insights and information which can help the newsman who is trying to be the community's watchdog.

As cities have grown larger, it has become easier for individuals and even entire groups to become isolated, to be cut off from participation in the larger network of urban communication, activities and services. Such isolation frequently is unintentional, but that only makes the situation more serious. Such isolation may produce unanticipated explosions of dissatisfaction and unrest, such as Watts and Wounded Knee. One of the functions of the news media's watchdogs is to bring attention to such conditions and to work to prevent such isolation.

In attempts to meet the multitude of informational needs of the urban area, a large and diverse complex of communication systems has been established. This includes not only the highly visible daily newspapers and television news reports, but a variety of specialized media. Among these are controlled circulation neighborhood papers, legal dailies, The Racing Form, ethnic and religious papers, school publications, to mention only a few. And there are other less formal media, including the "underground papers." The journalism student should have a clear understanding of these various media and their role in the urban society.

The existence of many of these media or communication channels is due to the inability or failure of the major media to fill some communication need(s) of some section of the urban population. Thus a school principal may use newsletters carried home by the students to reach his specific audience of parents. City officers of one Los Angeles suburb, finding that the regular newspapers neither provide adequate coverage of their municipal affairs nor constitute an efficient means of reaching the suburb's residents, resort to enclosing a newsletter with the water bills.

The daily press, even the suburban papers, cannot be reasonably expected to fill all these functions. But what newspaper reporters and editors sometimes fail to realize is that the individual members of the community may not be reasonable in their expectations. For example, I have had difficulties trying to convince black citizens that the reason an event in their neighborhood was not reported in the daily paper was not racial prejudice, but the simple fact that within the global context of the day's events it just was not important enough to win out in the constant competition for the always-too-scarce news space. Similarly, failure to report an accident which residents of my neighborhood felt highlighted a serious traffic problem threatening the safety of their children was interpreted by many as a sign of the callousness of the paper. The strength of their community concern made it difficult for them to recognize that it was just one of many accidents in the city that day. Instead, they felt that no one—neither the city traffic commission nor the supposed watchdogs of the press—was looking out for them.

There is no easy answer to this type of problem, but it is a situation with which the journalism student should be acquainted (and of which the professionals need reminding) because it does affect the relationship of the media to their publics. As the problems of the urban area become more complex, the difficulties of reporting them increase and journalists stand in danger of becoming more isolated from day-to-day interaction with members of the audience.

IMPLICATIONS FOR ACADEMIC CONTENT

I have suggested that (1) the journalist is a news communicator and (2) that the urban area should be considered as a complex of communication networks. Combined, these concepts imply that the journalist needs to have knowledge of (among many other things) the characteristics of individuals, the groups which they form, and how these groups interact within the fabric of that urban communication network.

Is this something which the neophyte journalist will acquire in the process of practicing his profession? I think not. I am convinced that the good journalist is one of the most--if not the most--knowledgeable persons in his community regarding that community. Yet I also think that this knowledge is frequently superficial and, if not actually incorrect, sometimes distorted.

This feeling is based largely on informal personal observation and conversations with journalists in various cities, employed by a wide variety of papers in terms of quality and size. The only objective data I can cite to support this contention is Bagdikian's survey of "45 key men" on eight of the "better" papers in the country.* Bagdikian found that these important gatekeepers--who were experts, most with at least two decades of experience--have only a "vague" knowledge of the basic demographic facts of their community.

Is knowledge of demographics important? Damned right it is! There is a large literature documenting the systematic relationship of demographic characteristics to the individual's choice of media and of content within media, to attitudes, value systems and other aspects of personality which are often related to their interests and abilities to cope with different types of information. To take a look at the circulation pattern of a newspaper superimposed on a demographic map of its community will usually provide a fairly convincing proof of the importance of demographics.

The journalist rightly thinks of himself as a man of his community. He does interact with a greater number and wider variety of the community's citizens than do most other professionals. But even his experience is limited to a sample of the total population. While it undoubtedly serves to give him important insights, that sample is still subject to all the vagaries and potential inaccuracies, biases and invalidities of any unsystematic sample. Indeed, because it is an informal sample, less is known of those biases than is the case with more objective attempts at describing the community such as reputable polls and, above all, the Census.

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*Bagdikian does not identify the eight papers. See pp. 106-110 of The Information Machines.

The research project of one of my Annenberg students illustrates my point. This young lady works for the Baltimore Sun and was intrigued by the paper's disproportionately low circulation within the inner city. Since she works on the copy desk, she wondered what part headlines might play in this situation. While her project is still in its early stages, she has found intriguing suggestions of systematic differences among potential Sun readers of varying demographic backgrounds in terms of what types of headlines attract them to newsstories.

But beyond the possible significance of her study itself is the significance of what doing that study has meant to her personally. As she told me, it forced her to go out and really explore Baltimore—the entire city—relating it to a careful examination of census data so that she began to see relations of which her prior experience and academic work had left her ignorant. And most important of all, it forced her to go out and discuss the newspaper with a wide variety of people who did and did not read her paper.

Her thesis is that people on the copy desk perform their work in a highly routine manner in which they often lose sight of the people "out there," the readers. Granted that desk people are more isolated than reporters, her experience still underlines the point that there is a continuing problem of maintaining within the individual journalist an awareness of his audience. Yet that awareness is essential if he is to anticipate their needs, to be able to better create pictures in their minds which do accurately reflect reality. Although the reporter is a "man of the community" and does interact with varied segments of the public, there is still a very strong tendency for his work, too, to become routine. This is true of beat reporters; it is true of specialists; certainly it is true of those hardworking souls on the desk. Despite his work among the public, most of a journalist's day-to-day interactions are actually with colleagues, either those of the newsroom or those persons he regularly sees on his beat. And that coterie constitutes a relatively small number of relatively homogenous members of his community. As a result, the journalist's sample of his community is a biased one, but it is easy for him to forget that fact. One possible result of forgetting it is that he begins to assume that all members of his audience have a level of knowledge and frames of reference equivalent to those of this group of associates.

Further, the reporter must compete with his colleagues for the selection of his items by the editor for use in the day's news package. Thus it is not surprising that studies, such as Warren Breed's analysis of the city room and the gatekeeper studies such as those of Walt Gieber and his students, report a tendency among reporters consciously or unconsciously to have their editors and/or colleagues in mind as the "audience" for whom they prepare their stories. This tendency, it might be noted, can be viewed as a natural extension of the general habits many students acquire during their undergraduate days. In course after course they find it pays "to write to" the professor's interest rather than write a paper reflecting a sincere attempt at intellectual inquiry. And editors, like professors, sometimes have a tendency unconsciously to encourage this proclivity.

In short, the operational context of the journalist tends to separate him from his audience and to create a work environment in which he is tempted to write for colleagues and bosses. Giving the students a basic acquaintance with the full scope of the population, particularly showing how people use and interpret news, can help to innocualte him against this tendency.

If we accept the need for including such material in the academic preparation of future journalists, the next question is whether it must be taught within the context of the journalism curriculum itself or can it be safely assumed that the student will acquire the information in the core courses required for the liberal arts degree?

I am convinced that the undergraduate journalism student does not get this preparation in the standard undergraduate courses outside his major. Nor do I believe the student coming to a graduate journalism program has been properly prepared by the basic undergraduate program. This conviction comes primarily from my own decade of experience teaching students in a graduate-level program of professional journalism training. These students were drawn from a wide variety of undergraduate schools where they had to have maintained at least a B average in order to qualify for admission to our university. Thus, they constituted a broad representation of upper ranks of contemporary liberal arts graduates. Even though a large share of these had majored as undergraduates in political science, they were surprisingly naive, if not just plain ignorant, concerning the structure and operation of politiaal entities at the local level. Such basic facts of urban life as the role and structure of the property tax were mysteries to many. Despite their being only recently graduated from public schools, they did not know how school systems are organized and controlled. Beyond basic population figures and a few superficial, often cloudy, facts about ethnic and socio-economic groupings, they had little conception of the population at either local or national levels.

Conversations with colleagues at other universities have reinforced my conviction that these students were not unique in their ignorance. Thus I do advocate that information of this type be included within the required journalism curriculum itself, whether it be undergraduate or graduate level.

I am under no illusion that the innoculation provided by such a course or unit will be either complete nor long-lasting in protecting the budding professional from falling into the type of isolation which

I have suggested is sometimes, perhaps frequently, the case among career journalists. However, if a new group of neophytes newly acquainted with and sensitive to these factors enters the profession year after year, their questioning may help to create pressures for modification of the operational context which, in turn, could reduce the potential for such isolation. (I would suggest that the conscientious editors and managers of the news media should consider the preparation of annual reports for their staff summarizing population characteristics and community structure together with analysis of whatever current information they might have on their audience, even if that be only a geographic breakdown of circulation. Such a report should be required reading by the entire staff.)

FORM AND CONTENT

It is one thing to advocate that the anatomy of the community be a required area of study in journalism education. It is quite another to outline the syllabus for such study, particularly in the abstract, separated from the larger curriculum context. I do not think the content should stand alone. In another paper in this series, Philip Meyer has made a strong case (I think) for including quantitative research methods in journalism education. It seems to me that for the career-oriented student it would be feasible to effect some kind of merger between training in those methods and the study of the anatomy of the community. Methodological exercises related to the latter could demonstrate the practicality of the research skills--and might even make the exercises interesting. Whether that type of merger actually is effected or not, the study of the community should be taught within a context which requires students to perform assignments involving both the use of archival sources of descriptive data on the community and field work forcing him to interact with a broad sample of the public.

As a point of departure for discussion, I am attaching a barebones outline of what I think should be contained in such a course. This outline presupposes a lot, particularly that both basic research methods and communication theory have already been introduced to the student. Wherever possible, the content should stress general principles and working knowledge of a wide range of sources for information on the public and the community.

That is essential for two reasons. First, most journalists will change locations during the course of their careers and so should be given tools which they can use wherever they work. Second, and perhaps more basic, communities are dynamic complexes, a fact which the course or unit should emphasize. Even if the journalist remains in the same locale throughout his career, that community is constantly changing. It is essential that the journalist recognize this and be alert to the need to constantly "up-date" himself.

PRELIMINARY OUTLINE FOR
A JOURNALISM COURSE ON THE ANATOMY OF THE COMMUNITY

I. Basic demographics of the population.

A review of basic Census data, moving from the nation to the local community, on to specific census tracts and blocks. Full exposure to the varied content of the Census and its organization.

A review of research literature which relates demographic characteristics to levels of information on public issues, communication and patterns of communication and use of various media. A progression to analysis of audiences of specific newspapers, contrasting audiences of competing papers where possible and of competing media.

Identification of interest groups within the population, including discussion of the varying bases for such groups--from geographic to ethnic proximities. Discussion of cultural differences, particularly as these relate to variations in media use, to personal prejudices and sensitivities.

Review of longitudinal trends in all of above.

II. Basic pattern of formal organizations in the community.

Review of government bodies and their jurisdictions, the way they interrelate and conflict. Relation between geographic jurisdictions and urban demographics, noticing how these influence such problems as tax base and revenues, various types of personal and institutional segregation.

A look at city planning, as an approach to analyzing physical and personal components of the urban area and trying to create patterns to facilitate their harmonious and efficient interaction.

III. Centrifugal and gravitational forces of the urban area.

Explore concepts of communication other than those directly related to media; e.g., traffic patterns, with particular emphasis on commuter and shopping patterns and how they relate to patterns of media use, interest in content, participation in suburban and other non-metropolitan political activities.

Explore the variety of specialized media, trying to identify the functions they fulfill for which special interest groups.

Explore the informal, non-media communication networks, with emphasis on the special problems of diverse interest groups and agencies to see how they attempt to solve their particular problems.

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A Paper Supporting Proposition #11: Broad Understanding of the Major Issues

Every journalist needs a broad understanding of the major issues of our time. Courses which would bring together many disciplines and focus these on today's issues should be provided all journalism students.

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"Broad Understanding of the Major Issues"

At the risk of stressing the obvious, let us first set the subject in perspective. Most journalism education today ranges between teaching how-to journalism and teaching about journalism.

Some schools and departments of journalism are concentrating heavily on teaching the how-to's of journalism--the techniques of reporting, leads and heads, of broadcast bulletins, firm editing, and the rest. The array is usually embellished with some instruction in journalism history or law of the press. The focus, however, is on the techniques--and generally on the prevailing conventions in the field. The programs often produce reasonably competent young craftsmen and win reasonable commendation from the editors and news directors in the area. The faculties, except for an occasional compelling or accomplished personality, are not particularly revered on their own campuses. They tend to be regarded as perhaps a notch above the faculties of dentistry or veterinary medicine, often somewhere between the department of accounting and that of electrical engineering.

At the other pole, of course, are schools that concentrate on teaching about journalism and communication. They may focus on teaching courses in the history of journalism, or comparative journalism, or communication theory and communication research. Some of the courses may be imaginative and stimulating. The history courses may not only set journalism in perspective but may provide fascinating reflections of some of the main currents in history. The communication theory courses can provide new insights and perspectives; the research course may well give at least clues that will be useful in a journalism career, but more often than not the courses are geared to the personal interests of the teacher and better suited to the ultimate production of a social scientist than a journalist. The faculties in these cases are a little more elegant and, after all, McBobbins is well regarded in survey research and Philcomb is pre-eminent on journalism in Central America. In professional circles, the schools win fewer kudos; the common remark among professionals is that they are "too theoretical" or, according to saltier souls, "too damned high-faluting."

A larger number of schools and departments try to strike a happy medium, which one surveyor of the field calls "normally a flabby compromise." Sometimes the faculty mixture proves mutually stimulating, and at least some of the course offerings in the two fields bear some vague relationship. More often the two wings of the faculty refer to one another in comtemptuous terms, the communications courses bear little perceptible relationship to the journalism profession, and the students become well aware of the curious mixture. A 1972 survey of journalism-student opinion* found a majority of the respondents, however they may praise "liberal education" in the abstract, wishing for more "practical" or "training" courses.

One result, let us face it, is that through the 1960's too many of the intellectual cream of American youth dodged journalism schools, having gained the impression that those schools had been intellectually unstimulating. With the recent upsurge in admissions, this has become less true than a few years ago, for more and better qualified students are now knocking at journalism doors. But some of us in the field suspect that the trend is less a reflection of any new invigoration of journalism education than it is an outgrowth of a new wave of social conscience among the young, disenchantment with business careers, and dissatisfaction with the narrow focus in many traditional disciplines.

All of the above is cited not to launch new gimmicks for "attracting students" but simply to underscore the inadequacies of much of our journalism education, graduate and undergraduate. They are inadequacies which the young often sense before their mentors do.

In a thoughtful and perceptive paper on journalism education, James W. Carey has written:

> More and more students I talk to are disgruntled with their narrow scientific training and seek in graduate school to move from psychology and physics, for example, to journalism (even though as now constituted we are poorly equipped to deal with students of such caliber). More students have both the ability and muscle to move from the campus into positions normally reserved for mature writers. More students seem to think that journalism really counts; that journalism is where the action is; that in journalism one can not only describe the circulatory system of this fibrillating society but also create the intellectual perceptions upon which we will come to terms with the modern world. Let me not overstate the case. My classes are not overpopulated with the intellectual cream of young America.

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*Conducted by the Communications Institute, directed by the author.

> However, I do know that many of the best young journalists avoid journalism schools while in college precisely because such schools are not organized to meet their most justifiable and ennobling aspirations. They do not avoid journalism schools, as is too frequently assumed, because they are too professional but because they are not professional enough. They do not avoid journalism schools because such schools teach "techniques" but because such schools teach the wrong kinds of techniques and needlessly divorce the techniques of presentation from the substance of what is presented. Nor do such students avoid journalism schools because of the increasing importance of social science in the curriculum but because it is often the wrong kind of social science taught and because the techniques of scientific investigation are confused with the substance of scientific knowledge. Briefly and harshly, the issue is simply this: journalism schools are professionally archaic and intellectually uninvigorating. As much as we may hide this judgment from ourselves, it is not lost, believe me, on our better students.

Carey's phrase about the needless divorce of "the techniques of presentation from the substance of what is presented" deserves special attention. I think now, as I have thought for a decade, that special course work for journalists in the great issues and trends of the day--and the background of those issues and trends--is a pronounced need. To this I would add writing, writing and more writing about those trends and issues and subdivisions of them.

In what follows, I write as one who has experimented with an effort in this direction with mixed results. The non-success, I am confident, resulted more from imperfect planning and execution than from faults in the basic concept.

Let me be the first to say that stress on this need is in part an indictment of the prevailing process of college-level education in America. In some years of teaching I found graduate students with "good educations" failing almost invariably to draw upon what they had theoretically learned, even when they were engaged in the most ambitious writing projects. They almost never dealt with the old Populism in writing a major report on somewhat parallel political developments of today. They rarely drew on their sociological studies in dealing with fundamental race problems or with poll data, or on early physics in writing about energy problems, or on basic economics when parrotting gobbledegook about a monetary crisis. The apt quotation from some past study was almost non-existent.

The typical student seemed to have taken his course in history, or economics, or psychology or chemistry, passed his exams, disposed of his books, and moved on. He had, we hope, at least retained some intellectual discipline, which helped him later. Whatever knowledge, or perspective or broad understanding he had acquired he seemingly wrapped up, tied with a ribbon, and stored on a top shelf.

Part of the reason for this doubtless lay in the original teaching and textbooks. Too rarely has the instructor emphasized the relationships between his subject matter and the trends and issues of today when such relationships clearly existed. This tendency helped no doubt to foster the recent campus screaming for something vaguely called "relevance." The demands, of course, were fuzzy and betrayed failure to understand that a truly liberal education should contain much that is not "relevant" to the problems of the ghetto or the ecology. The point here is that the many relationships that do exist have too rarely been stressed and spelled out.

Another key factor is the simple fact that the would-be newsman requires a range of education exceeding that in almost any other field of endeavor. A competent editor needs some understanding of virtually all facets of society. Even the journalistic specialist ideally should be an accomplished generalist before he narrows down to a specialty. Otherwise he is ill equipped to relate his specialized work to other fields of human endeavor, to write in terms that are comprehensible and interesting to non-specialists, and to set his subject in perspective.

In higher education as a whole, such range of education is becoming less prevalent today. The general education courses are being phased out widely--partly because of lack of student enthusiasm, partly because faculty members feel they win few kudos for team teaching, and partly because of a complex of other reasons. In addition college students, as part of the new trend, are generally permitted to choose more and more of their courses as they like, with fewer required courses and less mandatory balance in the student's program. The natural tendency of too many undergraduates is to take those courses that come most easily or, at the least, those that have a natural appeal to them. This means the average student tends to shy away from the courses that seem most foreign and most difficult--the very courses he needs if he is to emerge as a broadly educated human being.

The atmosphere that emerged in the wake of the campus uproars of 1968-70 contains nothing that is likely to stem the trend. The vogue, of course, is to give the student the maximum latitude. Moreover, as faculty collective bargaining grows, the typical campus begins to take on some of the alignments of industry--management (administration), labor (faculty), and customers (students). When applications to college fall, as in 1972 and 1973, we have a buyer's market, particularly in the non-public institutions. In such a market, the seller is unlikely to tell the customer what goods he must take.

It is interesting that on many a campus the journalism department, with all of its faults, may emerge as the last stronghold of a broad liberal education at the undergraduate level. At the graduate level, of course, the broad education has never been a goal in the traditional disciplines.

The 50-odd undergraduate schools and departments of journalism that are accredited now specify that no more than 25% of the undergraduate's full four-year program can consist of professional courses.* Some of these require a range of other courses, involving, for example, some exposure to the natural sciences and to social sciences. If they persist in this, which they can in the rising tide of journalism applications (unlike applications in general), they may well end up with graduates more broadly educated than the average graduate of other parts of their institutions. If some of them strike out with self-confidence to do some pioneering, they can do far better. And if selected graduate schools with avowedly professional orientation set out to develop more of their own broad course structure, they can come much closer than now to providing superb education for a vital and demanding profession.

I say "avowedly professional" in the belief that the nation needs a fair number of institutions, undergraduate as well as graduate, that are so designed. This does not mean they need be just narrow, technique-dominated trade schools. Indeed, this would be precisely the wrong direction, for quality journalism is going to call increasingly for breadth and range of education. Surely the journalism schools should offer the skill training, the laboratory-type work if you will, along with writing, more writing, and rewriting. But they will need to offer much, much more. To do so they will probably need to design some new courses, to help design some others, and to choose with great care occasional courses now offered somewhere on their campuses.

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*Some institutions, however, are rather quick to approve student requests to exceed the 25% limit.

An Example: Communication Studies

The remarks made previously about so-called communication courses do not argue against all such instruction. Far from it. The field known as "communication," with a large ingredient of sociology and social psychology, deals with much that is germane to journalism. My point is that such instruction for journalists should focus on those aspects of the field that are most germane.

In contrast to the sneering remark about graduate students in traditional disciplines "learning more and more about less and less," the first-rate journalist, poor fellow, needs to know "more and more about more and more." Given the expansion in knowledge, he or she simply will not have the time to delve into multiple subject areas at the leisurely pace--or the measured pace--characteristic of introductory course work in so many disciplines today. And too many courses in communication, for example, are today designed for the young person who will become a specialist in communication studies.

At the University of Illinois in Urbana professional and skill courses in various aspects of journalism are accompanied by a wide array of communication courses, and there is a prestigious Institute of Communications Research. When I asked two distinguished professors on the professional side whether the communications courses really contributed to the making of better journalists, one answered, "Not very much"; the other answered simply: "No." When I asked the same question of a ranking official of the Institute, he replied, "Not really. We look upon communications research as a specialty in itself--with inherent values comparable to those in sociology, or physics or some other recognized discipline." I concluded that the work contributed to the making of a better informed and better disciplined human being--and, in that sense, a better journalist.

I long since concluded that there is need in journalism education for a research-methods course drawing on several of the social sciences and directed at the particular needs of journalists. I was pleased to find that the previously mentioned James W. Carey, director of Illinois' Institute of Communications Research and a key figure in Illinois graduate education in communication, had been thinking along parallel lines. Like him, I would wish to see a new full-year course collecting from the various social sciences those methods, approaches and techniques of particular value in understanding and interpreting contemporary society. I could embrace special work in interpreting survey data and voting statistics, analyzing time series data, indices of prices, employment and national income; analyzing data on migration, population, mental health and delinquency. It could deal with the new efforts to evaluate social experiments. (Philip Meyer, in his chapter, highlights some of the possibilities.)

Similarly there are, in communications theory, semantic principles that can help develop conciseness and clarity. There are principles of orderly investigation that can be of assistance to the journalist. There are also perspectives and insights that can be helpful.

The key lies in the approach to the course. The ideal approach, in Carey's words, should start with the question: "What are the most valuable research methods a journalist should know, and what kind of interpretive hardware is absolutely essential in dealing with modern problems?" And, I would add, what insights, approaches and ways of looking at a subject are likely to be valuable to the journalist attempting a major work of interpreting trends? This sort of approach is far different from: "What are the methods that I, teacher and scientist, find most useful in my work and which of these can I most effectively teach?"

All this, in turn, leads to the concept that courses in other fields could well be better designed to meet the particular needs of the generalist-journalist. David Manning White and a colleague a dozen years ago produced a little book, "Statistics for the Journalist." It emphasized in small compass the understanding of statistics, the avoidance of common pitfalls, and points of interpretation that can be of immense value in a profession where an alarming number of practitioners don't even comprehend the difference between an average and a median. Polykarp Kusch, a Nobel Prize winner at Columbia, once had a little course nicknamed "Physics for the Poet" that reflected the potential, and Dr. James Bryant Conant's experiments with course work and a small book illustrated fascinating ways to treat the scientific method for the non-scientist.

At Columbia, my colleagues and I once were seeking ways to help mid-career journalists who returned to the campus for education directed at their becoming science reporters. On most newspapers and broadcast operations science writers have to double as writers on medicine (and often other specialties), and we had a problem of finding a way of teaching these highly intelligent journalists something about medicine without immersing them in a full medical education. Up in Columbia's School of Public Health we came upon a course on medicine for hospital administrators. It proved almost ideal. After this single one-year course, the journalist could not remove an appendix or treat an ailing heart, but he could converse intelligently with doctors, understand articles in medical journals and serve admirably as a translator between the specialist and the layman.

Those examples point up an approach. If it suggests the danger of superficiality in a multiplicity of fields, that is, indeed, a risk. It should be overcome by a program which affords each student fairly deep immersion in one subject and the intellectual discipline of doing a major writing project in that field.

The Story of a Fade-Out

An account of one effort in this direction, an effort that started with some acclaim and gradually fizzled out in the course of 11 years, may be instructive. It was a program called Basic Issues in the News, launched by this writer and his colleagues at Columbia's Graduate School of Journalism in the 1957-58 academic year.

The new program was to draw upon the talents of six of the most widely recognized professors from other Columbia faculties to help graduate journalism students gain some bread "feel" for major areas of knowledge and to gain at least a tentative introduction to the literature of that area. It was to be handled on a framework of major current problems. As dean, I thus described the program in its early days:

> This new program was designed to supplement the School's strong training in the skills of journalism with increasing education in the substance of journalism...
>
> The purposes of this program have been to improve the young journalist's perspective on the great issues that lie ahead, to help him draw more fully on what he has already learned, and to help him further to develop that aptitude for continued learning which is a hallmark of the truly able journalist...
>
> Each of [six] guest professors has prepared a background document of some twenty-five thousand words, which every student is required to read. Following this reading, each guest professor gives two hour-and-a-half lectures, followed by question-and-answer periods and by two seminars conducted with small groups of students who have

> elected to specialize in that subject.
>
> In the first term every student participates in the study of all six of the issues. In the second term, each student specializes in one issue and participates in a series of seminar discussions with the guest professor and a journalism professor. Finally, he writes a "major publication" of four- to eight-thousand words on some subject within the area of specialization.

We knew at the time that one of the pitfalls might be a sense of superficiality arising from the once-over-lightly approach to each area except that in which the student chose to "specialize." We recognized this danger but hoped the perspective that would be shared by one renowned scholar in each of the areas would make even the brief exposure worthwhile. We sought to add at least a bit of depth to each by requiring moderately heavy reading in each subject area, then testing the student on his comprehension of that reading and by requiring a brief report on some important aspect of that reading. Concentration on one of the areas in the spring term, plus a major paper (which could take the form of a small book, a magazine or newspaper series, or a broadcast documentary), was designed to provide some measure of depth and intellectual exercise.

We knew, however, that we could not pretend to offer depth of study as it is conceived in one of the major disciplines. Trying to crowd the whole program into one extended academic year that was already rather filled made the effort doubly difficult. One old teaching hand urged that we consider scrapping the attempt at range and simply offer each student one year of study, with heavy writing, in any one of the six subject areas he selected. We decided, nonetheless, to attempt the broader approach, hoping that even brief exposure to the various basic issues under distinguished auspices would give the student some insights and perhaps light the spark for much deeper pursuit of the subject in subsequent years of independent reading.

The initial experiment won much wider recognition than expected. I rather suspected this sprang from the feeling of some leading editors that journalism education had long been too inclined to divorce the techniques of news presentation from the subject matter being presented. In any event, the experiment received wide coverage in both the trade press and the general press.

The program went about as expected the first year. Six journalism faculty members, each teamed with one of the guest specialists, worked with considerable enthusiasm, even though the course represented a net addition to the teaching load of most of them. Some began a little complaining about administering short quizzes and assigning and reading brief papers from the entire class of 80-odd on each of the subject areas. Not only was this a lot of work for the teacher but it was, in the eyes of some, a rather superficial way of checking on what the student had derived from the short course in each area. The major paper that each student did in his chosen area turned out, of course, to involve much faculty guidance, reviewing, suggestion of revisions, and final reading plus commentary. These papers, however, were important intellectual challenges to the students and deemed worthy by the faculty.

Comments from students and ex-students in those first few years tended to support my belief that there was validity in the Basic Issues concept. Students found the guest professors stimulating and provocative. Some grumbled about the vast amount of work in the so-called major papers, but the abler students seemed to relish the opportunity to get their teeth into a subject and carry through with a thorough and polished job of writing about it. Young alumni seemed to attach value to what they had learned. One, for example, wrote "I've been put on atomic energy and related subjects. Thank God you people subjected me to that quick Basic Issues segment on Energy and Controls." Another said the brief treatment of Labor and Management and "particularly the recommended readings" had helped him greatly in some labor assignments. But he added, "I wish I had had much more on the subject." There were a fair number of such comments in my mail from young graduates, but there was also an occasional question about whether the program "was as good as it might be" or even whether it was "really worth all the time."

In the next two or three years, the Program continued almost as planned, with rather energetic support from the dean and associate dean. Gradually, however, problems developed, until the Program all but faded away over the course of a decade. These problems reflected partly flaws in the way of fitting such an experiment into an academic framework. They also reflected, in my opinion, questionable elements in the traditional outlook in the attitudes toward work load and in the general atmosphere prevailing on most university campuses. The story of the decline in the program is recited in what may seem excessive detail (pages 10-13) because of its possible value to those who may seek to mount comparable experiments in the future.

After the first three years, modifications began to creep in. The Basic Issues committee, made up of the six journalism professors concerned, first agreed they should drop the little quizzes on the reading and lectures. I felt I couldn't persuasively oppose them, because the quiz was admittedly a device to insure that the readings were read and the lectures heard--hardly what is called "a sophisticated approach at the graduate level."

Next, after another year or two, some of the professors began to develop opposition to the little writing assignment that each student was to perform on each of the six subject areas. Reading and criticizing these for some eighty students had turned out to be a substantial added burden to teachers who, like virtually every teacher I ever met in any institution, thought they were already overburdened. I held out as a firm advocate. I simply had concluded that it is a human weakness to neglect or defer course work on which one never has opportunity to demonstrate how much--or how little--he or she has learned. Even the best motivated student, intent on seizing upon all of his educational opportunities, postpones such study when under pressure, then simply never gets around to the catching up he sincerely planned.

A year or so later, with the dean busy on fund-raising and related travels, the opponents of the written assignment won their point. They had an intellectual argument, I had to concede, for no one could contend that the modest written assignments had vast educational value per se.

This, I think, constitutes a continuing problem in education, particularly at the graduate level. All of us like to think of worthy students doing their reading and listening because of the intrinsic value of the information and insights thus conveyed. Minor quizzes and simple written papers seem unworthy and demeaning devices in serious graduate-level education. Such considerations lie behind the recent advocacy of pass-fail and no-grade courses. Yet the best of students, let alone the simple seeker of credits and degrees, seems to need some measuring rod, some incentive, if he is really to do the work he once fully intended to do. And the institution, of course, must have some standards in the giving of credits and degrees. Hence, the broad written examination and the wide-ranging Ph. D. oral examination have much to commend them, for they provide a means of at least estimating the degree to which the scholar has broadly absorbed and understood that to which he was exposed. As of today, the recent trends seem to be abating in education generally. The pass-fail approach, and all it reflects, has dwindling support.

In any event, the small written assignments went by the board. Then, as some of us had feared, the lecturer appearances took on the complexion of a lyceum. Attendance fell off--not because the lecturers were uninteresting but because busy students tended to give priority to other work that would appear more clearly in their records or contribute more directly to their professional competence.

After I resigned from Columbia, the journalism faculty members tended increasingly to detach themselves from the Basic Issues program. Finally the guest lecturers were dropped. All that remains today is the major paper, an ambitious and complex job of research and writing in a chosen field. The faculty continues to work energetically and devotedly on this remnant of the original program. And I would be the first to say that it is a very important remnant, for it provides the intellectual experience of digging really deeply into a given subject, organizing the treatment and the research with guidance from a senior faculty member, and finally polishing and re-polishing the presentation. The result often emerges as a significant work of professional quality.

Why did the rest of the program gradually fade away? I would see these reasons:

1. Trying to cover six very important issues, each enmeshed with at least one major field of knowledge, in such short compass was very difficult in a university setting. Any one of the six issues could have been dealt with comparably in an adult education program--or in a special seminar for mid-career journalists--and would have won plaudits. Such compressed coverage of a complex issue, even when perspective rather than depth is stressed, proved to be just too alien to the normal university pace and approach to avoid encountering opposition.

2. Team teaching, once the initial bloom is off, rarely has much long range appeal for faculty members in higher education. The teacher tends to lose his cherished independence and to have few opportunities for kudos. In addition, in this particular case, the Journalism faculty member inevitably came to feel that, in his teaming up with a distinguished guest lecturer, he became rather the junior member of the team.

3. In what worked out to be a series of short courses, no easy way was found to judge the quality of the student's learning and understanding--or indeed to stimulate him to do the appropriate reading and listening. The quizzes and simple writing assignments that were devised had to be, of necessity, too superficial to justify serious defense at the graduate level. The major paper survived because it was a significant educational enterprise not subject to such flaws.

4. The enthusiasm of one man, be he dean or distinguished professor, cannot sustain any out-of-the-pattern team-teaching effort at an effective level over a prolonged period.

Despite all of these problems, in my opinion, the approach showed enough promise and elicited enough interest among students before and after graduation to commend some roughly comparable concept for the future.

A Recommendation

In the light of experience at Columbia and many talks with faculty members elsewhere, I would urge a two-pronged approach toward the end of better educating the journalist-generalist.

Part I is the careful preparation of a series of special textbooks for use in a number of institutions.

Part II is a different and more demanding approach to the teaching of the substantive courses.

I. Books: There is no doubt in my mind that a multiplicity of subjects could and should be taught to the young journalist in quite a different way than they should be taught to the beginner on the first or second rung of the ladder toward a graduate degree in the discipline. This, of course, would not be particularly true of literature or of history, because in both fields the digesting of a very wide range of materials is essential. It is true of a number of other fields.

In keeping with the discussion earlier in this paper, I can see a quality book being written on "Social Science Research for the Journalist." This would embrace the kinds of subjects covered earlier (pages 6-8). It would be directed at helping the professional journalist to interpret and evaluate more expertly major aspects of modern society.

There might well be a companion book under the working title, "Behavioral Science for the Journalist," with which some experimental drafting work has already been done. It would emphasize the broad background of the Behavioral Sciences, the evolution of theories of particular interest to reporters on modern society, new developments and trends of interest. To give it the larger market such a book, if well done, would deserve, its actual title might be "Behavioral Science for the Generalist."

Other books could be done to deal in comparable fashion with other major disciplines. Except for the two mentioned above, however, I would lean to another approach--books dealing with major continuing problems of this era and drawing upon a variety of disciplines. One such book, for example, might be "Human Ecology for the Generalist." This might well be a compendium of treatments of the subject in individual chapters by two scientists, by a historian, by an anthropologist, by a sociologist, or by a journalist in Washington, with an introduction and a concluding chapter written by a scholar with wide-angle vision of the problem as a whole.

Another might well deal with the emerging conflict between the have-not nations as a class and the have nations. A third could deal with the continuing--and changing--problem of energy and energy policy.

Unlike many introductory books, each should be written for mature, intelligent adults who happen to be non-specialists. For students with no background in the field, such books should be understandable. For others, they could well function as refreshers, providing broad perspective and emphasis on recent developments of particular value to the interpreter of current society. Each should provide a selective bibliography, with a clear description and evaluation of each book, as a guide to further reading in the field.

Let there be no misunderstanding. Any such book would not be easy to write, and an entire series would involve a vast amount of planning and hard work. If a dozen schools and departments of journalism indicated plans to use such books in course work, however, it would be feasible for a major publisher to undertake the series. The publisher might well set up a panel of imaginative journalism educators to guide in the selection of authors and advise on the texts as they develop.

II. The program of courses: In planning for the substantive side of education for journalists, it must be presupposed that this could not be crowded into a one-year journalism curriculum or its equivalent. More time will be needed. Another premise, of course, is that we are dealing here with the would-be master journalist as opposed to the routine craftsman. Finally it is assumed that the journalism school attempting the program would be avowedly professional--educating for journalistic work, not for teaching.

It is proposed that several problem-oriented courses be incorporated in the curriculum of a few major schools of journalism, preferably at the graduate level. One course of one academic year would deal with the problems of ecology. Another would deal with the continuing energy crisis. A third might well deal with the long-term problem of making international organizations from the UN to the OAS more effective.

Each course would be in the hands of a single professor, usually a member of the journalism faculty but sometimes from another faculty. He or she would serve as the director and coordinator of the course but would endeavor to have it multi-disciplinary in approach. He would assign the required reading, including one or more of the books described earlier where particularly germane. He would draw into the course for seminars members of the various faculties whose discipline has a bearing on the problem. Most of this would take place in the first semester of the course. A significant piece of writing would be expected at the end of the semester. Judgment of the student would rest on this and on the student's performance in seminars.

In the second-semester course, much more emphasis would be put on independent study and on preparation of a major paper of a journalistic nature dealing with the problem and interpreting it for the layman. There would be one seminar a week for general discussion and reports on reading. In addition there would be periodic conferences between the student and the instructor with particular reference to the major paper.

Each student in a two-year graduate program would be expected to take at least three of the first-semester courses and one of the second-semester courses involving a major project. Mid-career students returning to the campus would be free--indeed encouraged--to take such courses.

To illustrate, the course on the energy crisis would embrace selected readings dealing with the subject and its broad background. The book on "Energy for the Generalist" might be an important component. Guest professors in the seminars might include a geologist dealing with past, present, and future energy sources; a physicist discussing potentials for the future; a political historian dealing with the impact of considerations on national and international policy developments, and a professional journalist-specialist discussing some of the realistic problems and resultant political maneuvering of today.

In the course on ecological problems, a similar multi-disciplinary approach would be in order. Once again I turn to James W. Carey for a statement of the case for a course (or even a sequence) in human ecology:

> I can think of no other sequence more valuable to the citizen in understanding the substantive issues that face the country. By necessity, then, such work is also of vital importance to the journalist, and, while a journalism school might be able to develop such a course and recruit the faculty, it is more appropriate for J-schools to encourage a strong program in ecology within the relevant social sciences. The importance of human ecology lies, of course, precisely in its power to integrate a number of sciences--physical science, physical and mental hygiene, sociology, political economy--around the most important social problems, such as urbanism, transportation, pollution, degenerative disease, mental disease pesticides, and indiscriminate use of antibiotics and other powerful drugs.

Variations of these approaches would naturally be in order as dictated by the objectives and the philosophies of the individual institutions. No one approach is the model. The significant points are that it is high time for serious education in journalism to deal much more thoroughly with the issues and subjects that make up the substance of journalism, that these can be dealt with quite differently for the journalist than for the specialist in a given discipline, and that the problem-oriented, multi-disciplinary approach would have particular validity in education for journalism.

Alvin C. Eurich, in another context, has pointed out that teaching the fields of knowledge through problem-centered courses could substantially heighten the student interest and motivation that is essential in any educational enterprise and that it also could surmount the artificial and arbitrary barriers between the disciplines. And, of course, it has a relationship to that much-abused word "relevance." It proceeds from what is "relevant" to what is systematic, rather than from the systematic to the "relevant."

A Paper Supporting Proposition #12: Objectives of Journalism Schools

In the light of today's rising enrollments every journalism school is called to define its objectives with a new precision. Schools should develop these objectives to strengthen newspaper journalism through education.

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In challenging journalism schools to come up with a definition of their objectives "with a new precision," the proposition implicitly expresses dissatisfaction with existing definitions of objectives. Whether this implies that there was an "old precision" which is no longer adequate or applicable or that current objectives are not sufficiently precise is a moot question. Either way, the meaning seems clear: Journalism schools, the proposition says, need to tell the world (and themselves) just what it is they are trying to do and they ought to be specific about it.

This raises the question: What are the journalism schools telling the world about their objectives?

In an effort to find out, the writer of this paper sent a simple three-question query to the administrative heads of 100 schools and departments (by whatever name, and they vary considerably), the first of which was:

> "Is there an official statement in writing (in the catalog or elsewhere) which sets forth the purpose and objectives of your journalism school or department--a 'statement of mission' so to speak?"

Of the 100 queries, 53 went to members of the American Association of Schools and Departments of Journalism (AASDJ) and 47 to non-accredited (by the American Council on Education for Journalism) schools and departments. A total of 81 replies was received, 47 from the 53 AASDJ members queried (88%) and 34 from the other 47 (72%).

Without regard to their adequacy, specificity, precision or other qualities, be it recorded that written statements of purpose and objectives do exist in most cases. Of the 81 responding institutions, 63 (nearly 78%) reported having such statements in their catalogs or other published documents. Many of them sent copies. The breakdown:

	yes	no
Do you have a written statement of purpose and objectives?		
AASDJ members....	42 (89%)	5 (11 %)

non-AASDJ........	21 (62%)	13 (38%)
	63 (77.7%)	18 (22.3%)

Administrators of schools and departments not having a published statement were invited to set forth the raison d'etre of their programs informally and in their own words. Several did so.

Before looking at some of these statements of mission, let's get to the other two questions. But first, the stimulus which prompted them. It is found in the Planning committee's commentary on Proposition 12, as follows:

> Journalism educators are concerned today that pressures on facilities, equipment and faculty due to burgeoning enrollments may seriously lower the quality of teaching. More students require more financial resources. Yet universities are tightening, not expanding, budgets. Elevating standards to admit only the most promising students is an available option for some schools. For others, barriers of "open admission" policies, university and liberal arts rules, and even state laws eliminate this option. Tinkering with admissions standards, however, leaves unanswered a more basic question: "What is the purpose of a journalism school?"
>
> Large enrollments thus are giving schools the opportunity to define their objectives anew. But first, defining objectives will require studying the reasons behind rising enrollments. For example, have English departments so restricted writing courses that students must turn to journalism for writing instruction? Have students come to view mass communication as a "general study" of an important institution--the mass media--that can give them a useful base for viewing and understanding society? Do students see in journalism a way of acquring "communication skills" that leads to a better chance for employment in a tight job market, and for making a contribution to society, than in the study of other subjects?
>
> Answers to such questions will put journalism schools in a better position to determine whether they will concentrate only on the education of professional journalists, whether they will concentrate on providing a general education for the student interested in mass communication, or whether they will offer separate "tracks" for both. Answers to these questions should help university administrations determine whether journalism schools have been assigned functions inappropriate to the schools' traditional mission of training professional journalists to inform society.

This statement, especially the final paragraph, invited a question designed to reveal the policy of journalism schools and departments toward the non-major student. Hence Question No. 2:

> Does your school or department have a policy with respect to the enrollment of non-majors in your courses? (Official? Unofficial? No Policy?)

Only about one-fourth of the 81 responding institutions have official policies on non-majors. The breakdown:

Do you have a policy on non-majors?	Yes, official	Yes, unofficial	No policy
AASDJ members....	13 (28%)	19 (41%)	15 (31%)
non-members......	7 (21%)	16 (46%)	11 (33%)
	20 (24.7%)	35 (43.2%)	26 (32,1%)

The third question was calculated both to verify the already well-known enrollment trend in journalism schools over the past 10 years and to get administrators' own estimates of the trend in the decade ahead. As might be expected, nearly everyone reported increased enrollments since 1960. As for the future, the majority of journalism school administrators foresee continued growth in the next 10 years, some see a leveling off, but almost no one predicts a decline. The breakdown:

What has been the enrollment trend in your school or department over the past 10 years?

	J majors			non-majors		
	incr.	decr.	little change	incr.	decr.	l.c.
AASDJ	44 (93%)	2	1	44 (93%)	2	1
non-AASDJ	34 (100%)	0	0	31 (91%)	3	3 (9%)

What is your best guess as to the next 10 years?

	J majors			non-majors		
	incr.	decr.	l.c.	incr.	decr.	l.c.
AASDJ	29 (66%)	0	15 (34%)	27 (64%)	2 (5%)	13 (31%)
non-AASDJ	25 (73%)	2 (6%)	7 (21%)	24 (72%)	2 (6%)	8 (22%)

Several schools reported enrollment increases of 100%, 200% and even higher. One large Midwestern school went from 143 majors (juniors, seniors and graduates) in 1962 to 537 in 1972, a nearly three-fold increase.

Returning to Question I, what do the stated objectives of journalism schools actually say? Following are some representative statements:

> Our purpose is to encourage professional development for responsible and effective work in journalism and mass communication.
>
> -----
>
> Our work is two-fold: to teach the best practice and understanding of journalism and mass communication that we can; and to add to knowledge through research...We focus first on preparing professionals for careers, but also on informing others.
>
> -----
>
> *Conceptually*, to develop professional men and women who are capable of serving the public interest through careers in journalism.
> *Operationally*, 1. To help undergraduate students achieve proficiency in the techniques employed in reporting, editing and administrating newspapers and other publications, and in the skills of advertising, public relations and radio-television journalism, and in the techniques of teaching journalism in the secondary schools.
> 2. To make it possible for students to acquire, through a liberal arts bachground as well as through their professional studies, the understanding of society's problems that is essential for effective leadership.
> 3. To acquaint them with the responsibilities which must be assumed by communications specialists and with the opportunities which are available.
> 4. To provide them with a knowledge of the role of journalism in society.
> 5. To provide a graduate program for an indepth (sic) study and preparation for teaching in certain areas of journalism and for assuming managerial posts with news media and advertising and public relations agencies.
> 6. To conduct and publish the results of systematic research pertaining to problems in the field of communications.
> 7. To serve the citizens and communications media of (state) and the nation through off-campus programs to the fullest extent that the abilities of students and staff members will permit.
>
> -----
>
> To help young men and women prepare for careers in mass communications. Journalism requires a sound liberal education, a sound understanding of the place of a free press in a democratic society, and a fundamental knowledge of journalism techniques.
>
> -----

> (The school) offers programs designed to acquaint students with the nature of communications and to prepare them for professional work in a variety of communications fields.
>
> -----
>
> As a professional school strongly grounded in the liberal arts, (we) emphasize the value of a broad educational - foundation as well as proficiency in mass communication skills.
>
> -----
>
> The school prepares students for careers in mass communications through a combination of liberal and professional education leading to a B.A. degree in either journalism or advertising.
>
> -----
>
> The school has these major responsibilities: to prepare students for careers in mass communications, to provide leadership for persons now engaged professionally in the mass media, and to help increase public awareness of the role of a responsible press in a democratic society.
>
> -----
>
> The philisophy of journalism at (university) stresses background education for journalism, which includes the sciences, social sciences, literature and other non-journalistic fields. Instruction is given in journalistic techniques, but this is secondary to instruction in arts and science.
>
> -----
>
> Although it must be in the perspective of a truly liberal education, *training in the skills of journalism constitutes the core of the school's program.* The Bachelor of Journalism degree is a professional degree, and the undergraduate program, with its operating media, is the foundation of the school...they have first call on (our) resources. (Italics added)
>
> -----
>
> Our goal is to effect improvement in the mass media...At the undergraduate level, the department offers broad liberal arts courses which focus on the media as social, economic, legal and political institutions. Although *not intended to prepare the student for any specific vocational objective,* the curriculum does provide, through pre-professional courses, the background essential for a meaningful career in any of the various expressions of journalism. (We have) long advised the student who intends to become a professional journalist that he should plan on additional years of graduate study. Our program is designed to prepare intelligent, critical citizens who will become thoughtful *users of the media*. Education for *careers in journalism* is at the master's degree level. (Italics added).
>
> -----

Little purpose would be served by quoting more examples of these official declarations of objectives. Those given constitute a fair sample. Most of them are broad and rather general, some are quite specific, and nearly all bespeak a conventional philosophical approach to journalism education, the main elements of which include: emphasis on broad liberal arts backgrounding acquired mainly outside the journalism curriculum; professional training in journalistic skills and techniques; inculcation of the traditional values and principles inherent within the journalism curriculum (press freedom, social responsibility, etc.); the giving of first priority to preparing students for professional careers, but acceptance of some obligation to provide what are known in the trade as "service courses" for the non-major student.

A striking exception to the conventional approach is seen in the final example quoted above. Here is a statement of purpose that reflects a marked departure from the usual pattern of American journalism schools. It is almost diametrically opposed to the statement immediately preceding it. The two, in fact, represent the widest extremes in philosophy found in the survey and have been purposely placed in juxtaposition here in order that they might be compared. These two statements should be re-read carefully. Call them 'A' and 'B'.

'A' flatly states that "training in the skills of journalism" is the school's paramount objective, that the B.J. degree is a professional degree and that the undergraduate program, with its operational media, is the foundation of the school. This means that in this particular school (one of the best-known in the country) the students get practical experience in print and broadcast media operations which are owned and run by the school.

Statement 'B' expresses a viewpoint in sharp contrast to the pragmatic approach reflected in 'A'. Here is a journalism program having as its first goal the improvement of the mass media (which presumably is the professed or implicit goal of all journalism schools and departments) not through the training of future professionals in the customary manner but through what appears to be tantamount to "consumer education." The idea of professional training at the undergraduate level is all but rejected out of hand, such training being concentrated at the graduate level in this institution.

Although the two philosophies would seem to be far apart, perhaps the most important difference between them is not so much what happens to the student as when it happens. Professional education for the journalist at the undergraduate level or at the graduate level; that is the fundamental question posed by these two statements.

This writer is more in sympathy with the 'B' philosophy, having become convinced over the years that ideally the best education for professional journalism is to be gained through the superimposition of a graduate professional program, concentrated and relatively brief (not less than one year nor more than two), leading to the master's degree, upon a broad liberal arts undergraduate education. For pragmatic reasons, no sweeping trend in this direction is likely to occur in the foreseeable future, but the question deserves more attention than it appears to be receiving.

The difference in basic aims and philosophies reflected by statements 'A' and 'B' testifies to a lack of consensus among journalism educators that is no doubt healthy but which inevitably contributes to the complexity of the question at hand, i.e., the objectives of journalism schools, and to confusion in the minds of outsiders as to what those objectives really are.

Coming back to the question of precision in definition of aims, it seems fair to say that to the extent that official published statements of objective can be taken as indicators of the actual functioning of a journalism school, lack of precision is not a glaring defect. The professed aims are clear enough in the main. Their chief and almost universal weakness is their fuzziness with respect to the terms "communications," "mass communications," and "the communication(s) field(s)." In this connection, however, vagueness, inconsistency and redundancy are widespread, and no single offender should be held accountable for the sins of the many. (Yet--the thought persists--it would be nice to know, once and for all, just what is meant by "journalism and communications," for instance. If journalism isn't communications, what is it? And what, really, is the difference between "communication'--singular--and "communications"--plural?)

As for policy toward non-majors, the fact that most schools have either an "unofficial" policy or no policy at all (which in effect is a policy) probably doesn't make much difference as to what actually happens. And what actually happens, it would appear, is that most schools admit non-majors to most of their courses, provided the student meets the requirements or prerequisites, if any, for the course and provided there aren't any majors waiting to get in. Some schools have one or more courses designed especially for and limited to non-majors, and many have some courses that are limited to majors exclusively. As a generalization it seems safe to say that on the whole the nation's journalism schools and departments are open and accessible to non-majors. In this respect, as in other ways, they are in contrast to professional schools in some other fields.

There are two principal reasons for the open-door policy. First, many journalism programs are administratively housed in the institution's Liberal Arts College and are thus expected by tradition, if not required by rule, to make their courses--many of them anyway--available to the general student body. The second, and perhaps stronger, reason is that many journalism teachers consider it their duty and responsibility to enhance public understanding of the nature and role of the press, the concept of press freedom and other aspects of the media deemed important for the citizenry at large to comprehend.

As to whether university administrators understand this role of the journalism school, it has been this writer's observation over some 25 years that most presidents, provosts and other top-echelon administrative officers understand it and endorse it in principle but that few are willing to underwrite their enthusiasm in terms of tangible budgetary support for the extra faculty, staff, equipment and teaching materials that would be required to reach and serve large numbers of non-journalism students in a consistently effective manner, year in and year out. It must be added that by no means do all journalism school administrators see this function as a high-priorty item in their scheme of things.

A third and less altruistic motive in offering courses on a come-one-come-all basis might be their presumed value as recruiting tools. This could hardly be much of a factor in these days of high enrollment pressures, however, and since the open-door policy continues to prevail it may be concluded that either or both of the other reasons are dominant.

Unquestionably, a non-restrictive policy toward non-majors puts something of a strain upon a journalism school's resources. The extent and consequence of such strain is, however, difficult to measure. Except for those few courses offered in some schools for non-majors only, the usual pattern throughout the country seems to be to restrict non-majors mainly to the larger, lecture-type courses, in which their presence puts relatively little additional demand on the school's resources, or to admit them to the more specialized courses only after all majors have been accommodated. In any case, the serving of the non-major student was not indicated by any of the 81 respondents as a pressing problem.

So far this paper has dealt with (1) stated aims and objectives and (2) policy toward the non-major student in a cross-section of journalism schools and departments, accredited and non-accredited, as reflected by a mail survey. Let us now deal with these findings somewhat more subjectively, in the light of the proposition as stated.

In calling on journalism schools to define their objectives "with a new precision," are we not really asking them to re-define their objectives? The evidence gathered in the preparation of this working paper indicates that journalism schools, by and large, do seem to have a clear sense of mission. Some of them set forth their objectives in considerable detail--with precision even--and those which speak in more general terms can seldom be accused of vagueness. "To prepare young men and women for professional careers in journalism (or mass communications)" is a fairly broad statement, to be sure, but it is not vague. The intent is unmistakable.

Less clear, less precise, is the meaning of the terms which represent the goal itself. Whether these words be "journalism," "mass communications," "communications media," or some other variation, they seem to stand for anything and everything that finds shelter beneath an ever-expanding umbrella: newspapers, magazines, television, radio, advertising, public relations, photography (visual communication), communication theory, plus research related to any or all of these. To these may be added the preparation of teachers, from secondary school to university levels, book publishing, the graphic arts, film and still other sub-fields.

Which of these (and which aspects thereof, for no journalism/communications school purports to deal with all aspects of newspaper operation, broadcasting, advertising or the others) is meant by a given school's "goal words," and what priorities are accorded each? It is with these questions that greater precision is needed.

"Schools should develop these objectives to strengthen newspaper journalism through education," says Proposition No. 12. The statement implies that newspaper journalism needs strengthening and that it should be achieved through education. Fair enough.

Let's say that a journalism school faculty were to take this adjuration to heart and undertake to do something about it. A reasonable course of action might well be to hire a new faculty member with strong credentials in newspaper journalism and thus beef up the curriculum in that area.

Let it be further supposed (pipe dreams are free) that just the right person is available. The new associate professor of journalism (*newspaper* journalism, remember) is appointed, his courses are duly listed, the new school year opens, classes begin--and student response is underwhelming: 10 students in the new man's strongest course, seven in another, and only three or four in his special seminar. Meanwhile Telecommunications I and II, Public Relations in the Space Age, Communications Theory and the colloquium in The New Visual Imagery are full-up, with waiting lists.

Overdrawn of course, but not wildly so. Something like this *could* happen. In fact, something like this is what has been happening in journalism schools in the country over since World War II. One has but to look into a catalog of 1950 and compare it with the current catalog to see that newspaper-oriented courses no longer dominate--quantitatively speaking--the curriculum.

It is not so much a matter of decrease in "newspaper journalism" courses (there has been some attrition, however, notably in typography and other "nuts-and-bolts" courses) as the emergence of new offerings, new sequences and in some cases entire new departments, with a consequent diminishment *in relative terms* of newspaper journalism's position in the curriculum. The burgeoning of journalism schools' curricula has been largely the consequence of a combination of *innovation*, i.e., the development of actually new courses, and *reorganization*, i.e., the bringing together under one roof of academic areas which were formerly separate.

Proliferation of the curriculum has been the name of the game these past 20 years or so. Consider what has happened since 1950 in a sample of 10 schools and departments selected at random from among the 81 respondents.

The combined course offerings of these 10 journalism programs more than doubled, increasing from 207 courses in 1950 to 464 in 1972, or from 20.7 to 46.4 courses per school on the average. The count does not include seminars and certain other catalog entries the exact nature of which was difficult to determine. Here is the full listing:

	Number of Journalism Courses* (not including seminars)		
	1950	1960	1972
A. (Southwest)	8	12	25
B. (Southeast)	23	21	47

---

*meaning all courses in the journalism (by whatever name) curriculum.

C. (East Coast)	9	23	24
D. (West Coast)	16	26	41
E. (West Coast)	7	28	54
F. (Midwest)	29	31	52
G. (Midwest)	54	60	48
H. (Mountain)	17	24	35
I. (East Central)	24	22	61
J. (Northwest)	22	47	77
	207	294	464

Most of the schools more than doubled their course offerings, over the 22-year period, a few trebled them and one expanded its curriculum nearly 8 times. The lone trend-bucker (G.) among the 10 started from a very high base in 1950. This school was one of the first of the big proliferators and has since leveled off and more recently has actually reduced the number of its courses.

Examination of the catalog listings for each of these 10 schools shows, as would be expected, that the quantitative growth has come in areas *other than newspaper journalism*, principally in broadcasting, advertising, public relations, and "communications" in various guises. One school offers a nearly equal number of courses in each of three categories: Communications, Journalism, and Telecommunications.

Leading the field in total number of course offerings is a journalism school (not included in the tabulation above because only its current catalog was available) which sets before its students an array of *169 courses*, under 10 sub-headings. Walter Lippmann went too far, many would argue, when he said some years ago that journalism schools have nothing to teach, but do they have *that* much to teach?

A California state college which didn't exist in 1950 today has a journalism program consisting of 58 courses, not counting seminars and other extras.

Meanwhile in New York City, Old Columbia rolls on with 16 courses!

No attempt has been made here to measure the growth of journalism programs at the community and junior college level, but it obviously has been nothing short of explosive. Oregon, for example, had only one community college in 1960; today there are 13, all of them offering journalism and/or communications courses, in name at least. This is on top of--or layered underneath--long-established programs of varying size and depth, from rudimentary to full-blown accredited professional, in six of the eight institutions comprising the State System of Higher Education, not to mention still others--again a variety--in at least three private colleges. All this in a state with only two million population! The picture in many other states would look proportionately about the same.

Thus we now find journalism courses offered in hundreds if not actually thousands of institutions throughout the land. Instruction is being given in many cases by persons who are demonstrably--and sometimes admittedly--unqualified either by education or experience. These are facts which must be recognized and kept in mind in discussions of journalism education. Broad generalizations about journalism schools are as peril-fraught as broad generalizations about newspapers, home cooking or the younger generation.

The effect on newspaper journalism of such proliferation and expansion is extremely difficult to assess. Many observers, including this one, would question whether the quantitative growth in journalism education has been accompanied by a concomitant improvement in quality, but it would not necessarily follow that any demonstrable deterioration in overall quality had adversely affected the newspaper-oriented portion of the total enterprise. The quantitative growth, be it noted, has occurred largely in the other areas. It cannot be assumed that if the growth had not taken place the newspaper-oriented segment would be any different--better or worse--than it is today.

To the extent that "newspaper" courses and sequences have been affected by the rapid development of courses and sequences related chiefly to other media and other interests, it seems reasonable to suppose that the effects would relate more to such intangible factors as emphasis, attention and, yes, status or prestige than to the actual quality of instruction. In other words, even though the news-editorial work within a given school's curriculum is as good today as it ever was, if within the past 10 to 15 years other courses and programs--advertising and PR, broadcast journalism, cummunications research--have come on apace to claim ever-larger shares of student interest and enrollment, not to mention allocation of faculty, it stands to reason that the newspaper-directed sector of the school's total operation no longer dominates the scene as it once did.

To what extent the shape of professional education, regardless of field, is determined by trends outside the academic walls and to what extent by interests and pressures from within is impossible to determine. Obviously, both kinds of forces are at work, sometimes in harmony and sometimes at cross purposes, or what may seem at the time to be cross purposes. The past decade has seen marked change (although not the "revolution" that was being widely predicted a few years ago) in the law schools and the medical schools, not to mention the schools of education and business administration, where change has been even more pronounced and more controversial.

Whence the impetus for change? Are law schools today showing more responsiveness to social concerns, admitting more women and expanding the offerings of law courses for non-law students (the parallel to journalism for the non-major) because the legal profession is demanding these changes, because the law school faculties are demanding them, or because law students are demanding them? Has the teaching of accounting in the business schools been turning from the practical approach to the theoretical because CPA's are asking for it or because the professors of accountancy are pushing it? Are the shifts in medical school curricula--relatively low-profile but unmistakable changes--being brought about by pressure from the AMA and state and local medical associations, through agitation by medical students or through other persuasive forces?

The answer obviously is that all these influences have been at work. They cannot readily be sorted out as to the effectiveness of one over another.

These allusions to other fields of professional education serve to put into broader perspective the call for journalism schools to "define their objectives anew." Indeed they should do so--as indeed they have been doing--but it can't be expected to happen suddenly or with concurrent uniformity in schools and departments across the land.

The ability of any academic enterprise, be it a biology department or a journalism school, to re-structure itself at will is a limited ability. For re-structuring to be imposed from above by administrative coercion is generally held to be unacceptable, a course to be taken, if at all, only as a last resort.

The surest way to bring about change is to show a need for it. This is not to say that change does not sometimes occur in the absence of demonstrated need. In fact, failure to make a case can itself be the cause of change. But more often change comes about because the need for it has been made convincingly clear.

Any thorough-going and realistic consideration of objectives must take into account the fact that the journalism school is but a part--frequently a relatively small and unpretentious part--of a much larger whole, the university or college itself. To talk only of how journalism faculties perceive their school says nothing about what the parent institution expects it to be. How are journalism schools seen by the presidents, provosts, liberal arts deans and other policy makers, not to mention the rest of the faculty?

Is journalism perceived as part of the liberal arts or as something apart? Does the university community recognize the importance of communications in today's world and is it willing to accord the study of communications sufficient autonomy that it can become a central discipline? Do top-level administrators believe the journalism school has increasingly acquired responsibility to teach writing to the general student? To teach understanding of the media? Are they willing to support this financially?

These perceptive questions--all raised with the writer by an editor who read an early draft of this paper--are entirely valid, but it would require a formidable amount of research and documentation to produce data on which comprehensive and authoritative answers could be based.

"Top-level" views of journalism education, and of journalism itself, vary greatly among the institutions of higher education. Some years ago a member of an ACEJ accreditation visitation team asked the president of the university in the course of a private conversation with him: "Does it concern you that the newspapers of this state are experiencing a serious shortage of qualified young staff members while at the same time your journalism school is producing only a trickle of graduates?"

"No, it does not," replied the president evenly. "Should it?"

Left to speculation is the question of which is the rarer: the presidential attitude revealed or the candor of its expression.

The need for strengthening newspaper journalism through education (presumably meaning professional education) may be self-evident to all who participate in this conference and perhaps to many others who are not here. This is not, however, the revealed truth for all journalism/communications faculty members and administrators. Many of them are dedicated to other aspects of the total field and are cheerfully willing to leave concern for state of the newspaper press to colleagues whose interests run in that line.

Nor is this sense of need universally shared by newspaper publishers, editors, reporters and other members of the working press, many of whom remain unconvinced of the value of formal journalism education for the future journalist, as well as unconvinced of its importance to the press itself. This is not said in an accusatory tone, but simply as a statement of fact. Any realistic consideration of the future of journalism education must take it into account.

Furthermore, even if there were universal agreement on the proposition, there would be a wide divergence of views as to how the job should be done--divergence among educators themselves as well as among practicing professional journalists. One has only to look again at the sharply contrasting statements 'A' and 'B' quoted earlier in this paper for an illustration of the difference in philosophy among the educators.

Far from being deplored, such divergence in ideas as to means and methods in professional education for journalism is a sign of independence and vigor. It should be applauded and encouraged for it represents the kind of "field testing" out of which improvements are most likely to emerge.

To sum up briefly:

1. Journalism schools (by whatever name) have, on the whole, a reasonably clear "sense of mission." Their objectives and priorities are subject to change. Having changed greatly since World War II, they will continue to change in response to numerous complex forces and thrusts originating both off the campus and from within.

2. The accommodation of non-majors is not a first-magnitude problem with the schools. Journalism majors get first call on courses, teachers, equipment and other facilities; others are served as space and resources permit.

3. As journalism enrollments have soared, to the accompaniment of much broadening of program and expansion of curriculum, newspaper journalism has lost ground, in relative terms, over the past 20 years or so.

4. This decline from pre-eminence is due more to the

growth of interest in other media and other subject matter areas, e.g., theory and research, than to actual shrinkage of newspaper journalism's share in the schools' total program. In other words--and to over-simplify and perhaps to exaggerate--newspaper journalism, as reflected by the number and nature of courses in the curriculum, has stood still while other areas have grown.

5. Any movement to "strengthen newspaper journalism through education" would be greatly enhanced by evidence of interest in and support for that objective on the part of newspaper executives and other professional journalists. Further, the more tangible that interest and support, the more effective it will be. As to what, in specific terms, the newspaper industry could or should do to manifest such interest, that question lies beyond the scope of Proposition 12. It is an exceedingly important question, one that will, it is hoped, come in for some discussion at the Conference.

In conclusion, a personal statement:

Beyond doubt, the newspaper, in America and throughout the world, faces tremendous challenges, probably the most severe in its long history, but it does not follow, in my opinion, that the journalism schools must set new objectives for themselves in order to help the newspaper meet those challenges. The improvement of newspapers through professional education is, and long has been, a fundamental objective of journalism schools--those which are long-established and well-recognized at any rate. I would argue that there has been much improvement in newspaper performance on the whole over the past half-century and that journalism schools can claim a substantial share of the credit for that improvement. The "old" objectives are, by and large, still valid. The achievement of them is challenge enough for the journalism schools.

A Paper Supporting Proposition #13: Criticism of the Press

Journalism Schools Must Contribute to the Development of a Systematic Evaluation and Public Criticism of the Newspaper Press

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It is a truism, albeit a contentious one, that in the United States there is no tradition of sustained, systematic, and intellectually sound criticism of the press. The press is certainly one of our most important institutions but in serious attention it ranks slightly ahead of soccer and slightly behind baseball. The press is attacked and often vilified, but it is not subject to sustained critical analysis--not in public, and rarely within universities or the press itself. We are all the poorer for this--journalists, teachers, students and citizens--and the creation of a sustaining tradition of press criticism is a useful area where the press and schools of journalism might cooperate.

On each occasion that I have attempted to argue this truism, especially with journalists, I have found myself launched into abrasive discussions about press councils, Greek vice-presidents, and jailed newsmen--interesting topics all but rather beside the important point of criticism. The very idea of criticism has become anathema to journalists and the word itself has become a semantic beacon which unerringly attracts a host of emotional moths, some legitimate and some merely reflections of the psychology of the beleaguered. I need not tell you all that publishers, editors and journalists feel encircled by an indifferent judiciary, a hostile administration, an untrusting public, and even some apostates in the lower ranks. The press, so I am often told, has developed its own "credibility gap," caesarism is rampant in the White House, and the public cannot distinguish between the Bill of Rights and the codes of the Inquisition. The subject of criticism has become rather too emotionally charged and the press at its conventions and in its editorial pages is reacting with the grim faced seriousness and beleaguered patriotism of Robert Taylor in the final scene of "Bataan."

The task of this paper is to demonstrate that a tradition of press criticism does not exist in the United States, that a critical tradition is indispensable to the operation of democratic institutions, and that journalism criticism, properly conceived, is the criticism of language. Finally, I wish to say something about the relationship between the criticism of journalism and journalism education. To sustain this entire argument it will be necessary, however, to sketch in some of the historical background of journalism.

Journalism as a distinguishable human activity is only about three hundred years old. It came about when a particular class of people, largely in England and portions of Western Europe, developed a particular hunger for experience: a desire to dispense with the traditional, epic, and heroic and to know about that which is common, useful, unique, original, novel, individual, news--news. However common this desire appears to be now, it was a rather radical appetite, and one looked upon with exceeding displeasure by most of the 17th and 18th century. Behind this appetite were two motives: a desire to possess the kind of knowledge--news--that would support the growth of a commercial society, and perhaps less urgently, a desire to expand, through knowledge, the boundaries of political freedom. The group possessed by this appetite and inspired by these motives we commonly call the "middle class." This class gave birth to four characteristic modes of expression: the essay, the novel, journalism and the scientific report. While science and scientists were somewhat protected by an essentially medieval tradition of academic freedom, the novelist, essayist, and journalist had to struggle to secure a right of expression that was not in any way secured by tradition or common law.

We are now accustomed to seeing this struggle, largely carried on by and for the middle class, as part of a "long revolution," a revolution which, as Raymond Williams has suggested, has three distinct components. First, a democratic revolution representing the rising aspiration of people everywhere to govern themselves and to make the decisions controlling their lives without concession of this right to any group, class or nation. Second, an economic revolution which has transformed the nature of work and association and distributed or promised to distribute a larger share of wealth to all persons. Finally, a cultural revolution which aims to extend the process of learning and the skills of literacy and other forms of communication to all people and to expand and more fully distribute the cultural legacy of what we call "civilization."

We are also accustomed to characterizing this "long revolution" as the slow, sporadic, halting but irresistible rise of democracy, and in seeing the expansion of freedom in cultural, political and economic matters as being the central story which binds these three "revolutions" together.

I wish to argue with you that democracy as a form of political life--though I shall broaden its application latter--is essentially a theory of criticism and that criticism, properly construed, is indispensable to the idea of freedom. Now why are criticism and democracy so indissolubly connected?

The rise of democracy and the forms of expression I mentioned involved the displacement of other men, institutions, and forms of knowledge--forms we collectively and misleadingly call medieval. With the displacement of the church and aristocracy, to make it more concrete, everything in culture became problematic. With nothing given, with tradition dislodged, revelation discredited, pious scholasticism discarded, with, in summary, the death of absolutes and the loss of authoritative texts to interpret experience, everything in life became open and in dispute. Truth was no longer a fixed and final apprehension, set in tradition, revealed in scripture, and authoritatively interpreted by Crown and Pope.

While this change had its destructive and unnerving side, it was also beneficent: the embarkation on a great voyage of discovery--personal, political, scientific, philosophical--and the liberation of talent and intelligence on a scale and with a diversity hitherto unknown.

The final product of this shift was the growth of democracy but central to the growth of democracy was the growth of criticism, for the first arena in which this liberation was experienced was in the essentially critical discipline of science.

In a world with no fixed and final truths, without authoritative texts, how could truth and knowledge be derived? The answer was everywhere the same: by turning to experience itself, by examining, in the cardinal metaphor of the day, nature; or, to put it colloquially, by looking at the evidence for oneself. This novel idea of directly observing nature gave rise to the notion of a report: a rendering through language of one's observations of the vivid particularity of nature. In order to accomplish this novel task at least three things were needed: a set of procedures for observation that were clear and rigorous, a language of description and observation that was purged of as much emotional overtone as possible, and a forum of criticism that would correct and complete observations.

The form and procedures of the report perhaps were worked out, as Lewis Mumford has argued, in the practice of keeping the ship's log during the long voyages of exploration: the prompt record of observed events, the plotting of the ship's course, the transcription of topographic matters to maps, the recording of solar and stellar sightings, the observation of migratory bird habits, the systematic measurement of water depths to facilitate safety on landing, and the precise observation of animal and botanical life in new places.

The refashioning of language to be an instrument of precise description took place only through prolonged struggle and over at least two centuries. The history of this process cannot be told here, but it should be noted that it was not until 1755 that the first dictionary was produced in English and, therefore, it was not until the end of the 18th century that a set of stable, uncolored denotative terms were available for general use. The conflict over language continued throughout the 19th century between, in England, the Benthamites or utilitarians on one side and an older, conservative tradition of language represented by Coleridge and Newman that was essentially religious and poetic in inspiration.

The critical forum was present in the social organization of science itself. The achievement of the news sciences was that they opened an important part of the visible world to systematic observation. The methods of the sciences provided a machinery for rather impersonally resolving disputes.

Prior to the rise of the sciences the major intellectual method was dialectics, a method still used in our courts. This method places emphasis on persuasive appeal and personal force and easily devolves into mere eloquence bad tempered disputation.

The sciences emphasized systematic observation and the full disclosure of results. The scientific report was on attempt to resolve disputes by evidence, reasonableness and humility.

So great were the achievements of the procedures of observation, the new modes of language, and the forum of criticism that they were extended or at least attempts were made to extend them to other departments of life including art, politics and journalism. They were not always as successful in these other departments where passion and interest run deeper, but the extension of the method of democratic criticism always requires the following: some clear description of how we observe what we observe, a language relatively neutral in terms of affect or emotional coloring, a forum of response to observation and language, a desire to take account of contrary findings, a willingness to discard untenable hypotheses, to correct errors and to revise postulates--these are the manners of science, indeed ideally conceived of democratic life generally.

There are many problems in extending the method of science to the life of society generally. Foremost among them is that for science to operate properly its methods must be accessible to everyone competent to master them. When the scientific ideal was extended to politics, the same notion prevailed. Political action and rhetoric were not to be available to everyone but only to those competent to master them. We know from our own history the deep conflict over the definition of competence in these matters. Originally, we believed only the industrious, property holding middle classes possessed such competence. But in the 19th century the democratic impulse was too strong, and all barriers to participation were grudgingly but inexorably overcome. The political community was increasingly broadened to include everyone, and all publics were drawn into the political process.

We have always recognized and trembled before a persistent danger in this process. We can put the danger succinctly: if the critical process in democracy depends upon precise information and the habits previously enumerated, then how can the "sources of information be kept untainted by censorship and, at the same time, escape (the) vulgarity and irresponsibility" that mass participation presumably portends? In politics and culture we have attempted what no scientific community could tolerate, and we are left, therefore, with a dilemma from which there is no easy escape. In the act of incorporating the entire community into the political and cultural process, we have provoked a persistent temptation, particularly in a commercial society, to pander to the tastes and self-deceptions of large audiences, a process that ends in vulgarity and irresponsibility. Such a situation invites censorship or some deliberate political control and in the context of democratic life there is only one alternative to censorship: the same critical analysis must be turned upon the sources of information and culture and their operation that is regularly turned upon nature and our political institutions. It is not a matter of "shooting the messenger" but of subjecting him to systematic, critical public analysis lest he be controlled by censorship or corrupted by his own power and illusions.

Let me shift the historical tense of the argument and move it beyond journalism to illustrate what I am trying to suggest. In art the same problems of censorship are present that one encounters in journalism. Artists in the United States have always been relatively free and have regularly demanded an enlargement of the area of artistic freedom. Artists have consistently fought any censorship pre- or post-publication--and have demanded elimination of legal restraints governing what they can portray or the methods of portrayal. They have largely been successful in this enterprise and can now portray virtually any aspect of human existence. In fact, the arts have been so extended that they run the danger of being totally free and totally irrelevant.

Because the popular arts are a profitable commodity, they have a tendency to lapse into vulgarity and irresponsibility. I myself do not think the vulgarization will be met with infinite tolerance. The demands for censorship of the arts is, I think, inevitable. While censorship will at first prey on the cheapest and most exploitative, there is danger that it will be entended to that which is daring and intelligent. There is only one substitute for such censorship. The arts must be subject to critical analysis before the audience that attends, appreciates or consumes them. Despite a strong critical tradition in the arts, there is relatively little criticism of the popular arts as can be best seen with that always delicate phenomenon of pornography.

The boundaries of pornography have been steadily widened in recent years or perhaps more realistically traditional pornography has increasingly become a cultural fare of modern audiences and is protected by judicial interpretation. At the same time there is nothing that can be called criticism applied to this material. While newspapers earn dollars by advertising it, often because they have to, their pages otherwise pretend it does not exist. In the absence of critical examination of pornography, examination aimed at exploring the attitudes and meanings implicit in the material and in the relation of these meanings to what we are fond of calling our "way of life," censorship cannot be long forestalled. I am not, of course, arguing for censorship or anticipating the next move of the Supreme Court. I am suggesting that if artists demand freedom to pursue their materials without restriction, they will finally be greeted either by censorship or, by what is the same thing, demands for artistic restraint in terms of responsibility of the arts to society. The arts have a stake in a strong critical tradition, for such a tradition attempts to educate audiences by intellectual and literary means, to explore meanings in materials, to judge the worth of material and to create a critical counterforce to artistic license.

The same situation faces the press, and, for similar reasons, the press requires a strong critical tradition that makes an active and continuous response in terms of factual detail, unemotional language and articulate values to the materials presented to the public. We expect no less in politics, for we do not want the pronouncements of government to go uncriticized. Is there any social institution exempt from this process?

Prior to applying these considerations to the press, we need to introduce three additional historical facts which will clarify the ground of argument.

First, we must recognize that the role of the press in society has radically shifted in the last hundred years despite the general continuity in language we use to describe it. We now often think of the press as somehow representing the people, acting as an adversary of government on behalf of the people. This is a relatively modern notion. Originally the critical forum was provided by encounters between the government and the community or their representatives. The press constituted a third voice which did not substitute for the people but merely amplified the critical process, added information to it by its own activities and represented the interests of a political party, a commercial property and a constitutionally protected technology.

When government is reasonably small and in important matters local, there is no need to look for critics; they are everywhere. To put it in the jargon of sociologists, the critic is not here a specialized social role anymore than he is among artists when they can read their work to one another. Similarly when life proceeds on a human scale the press operates in a critical way only in defense of its own values and in the supplying of information. It is, in no sense, a critic who represents the public.

Throughout the 19th and 20th century, government, at all levels, became increasingly remote from people. It became more professionalized, less subject to direct control, more mysterious in its operations, less bound by common language, ties and encounters. Increasingly, the press moved into this vacuum and saw itself in a new role: as a voice of the community, as a shaper and expositor of community opinion. It interconnected the members of the community by assembling them into an audience and gave expression to their concerns and values. Less now an independent critic than a representative of the community, it increasingly rationalized its position not in terms of the rights of the press but in terms of the needs and rights of the community--a view which has since passed into our common language as the "people's right to know." The press, in a way, became a professional critic operating on behalf of the community.

This entire process proceeded as "the people" or "the public" that was constantly invoked became an increasingly amorphous entity. Everyone spoke for the people but no one could quite figure out who they were, how they were organized, how one might listen to them. Moreover, because the press specifically and the media generally assembled the audiences so dear to advertisers and politicians, American politics and culture increasingly became based on the premise that public opinion was to be molded and shaped within the media. Public opinion was then measured by commercial firms on the terms it was shaped--"who do you prefer for the Democratic nomination, Muskie or McGovern?"--in what increasingly appeared to be a tautology in which government and the press both pretended to represent a "public" with whom they had but little contact. In a word, the critic, the press, like government itself, became increasingly remote and unresponsive to the public they presumed to represent.

A third, and more elusive change, concerned the whole process of reporting and the role of journalism as a critical aspect of contemporary culture and politics. As I have previously suggested, the entire "democratic" idea toward knowledge was founded on the notion of going and looking for oneself, of reporting the procedures by which this looking took place, and having the report and procedure subjected to criticism.

In the 19th century this conception of "objectivity" was altered, however, partly under commercial pressure, partly under the pressure of events, partly for reasons we do not understand. Rather than reporting events the press increasingly reported someone else reporting events. To square the circle one had to have at least two spokesmen, two observers of the events--one Democratic and one Republican--and objectivity became the square root of four. The change is of some moment. The press did not for its most important stories observe the events. It reported what spokesmen, sources, authorities of different stripes said about the events. The press became the conveyor belt of observations rather than the originator of them.

This change undercut the finest tradition of journalism, for the audience was exposed to the opinions of the paper in the editorial columns and the opinions of "spokesmen" in the news columns. In both cases the mode of reaching the public was based upon purely verbal reasoning in something less than open debate. The method ends up putting a premium on forensic skill and personal force--even more so in television--and descends into mere eloquence and wrangling unchecked by experience and evidence.

It has the more unfortunate consequence of shifting the language of journalistic reporting from that of hard and precise meanings, and fulsome descriptions of "facts" to emotion laden, highly charged drama, a situation never more unfortunately exposed than when this condition of the press was exploited during that bad natured period we now call the McCarthy era.

This observation is not true of all journalism; perhaps not even much of it. But this change in the nature of reporting has led to a regular public diet, in many of our most crucial areas, of the facts of opinions rather than the facts of journalistic objectivity.

With that background let us return to the problem of the criticism of journalism and the tradition of journalistic criticism. Let us begin from this simple observation, contained implicitly at least, in everything that has been previously said: democracy is not only a form of politics; it is a form of community. As perhaps our greatest "theorist" on these matters John Dewey argued, democracy is a form of associated life, of conjoint communicated experience. But he also argued, in The Public and Its Problems, that today all individuals find their interests and concerns conditioned by large impersonal organizations and consequently the possibility of community as well as ethical fulfillment is seriously compromised. Dewey insisted upon communication and public debate as the instrument of realizing society as a process of association, as a community. This process of criticism, of debate, became in his thought the means by which human experience can be expanded and tied together not only in the domain of politics but in all the domains of our experience.

One of the domains of experience shared by members of modern society is that experience of the media of communication, the newspapers particularly. And this is a domain about which there is little debate of significance out in the bright lit arena where the "public" lives.

Perhaps herein lies the answer to those questions so quick to the lips of newspaper executives: Why do newspapers have a credibility gap? Why do all those polls show the public distrusting or at least lacking confidence in the newspapers? There are few modern institutions that engender much confidence in the public because they are so persistently remote from the public and because they mask their operation in the cloak of professional authority which effectively forestalls the critical involvement of the public. That is, the press is one of those large, impersonal organizations of which Dewey spoke, an organization which in representing so assiduously its own interest seriously compromise the possibility of community. It is also an organization about which there is little that can be called debate or criticism or communication.

Now I realize those observations cut against the received opinion of many newspapermen. They feel under rather constant attack and do not respond kindly to anyone they regard as a critic. But attack is not criticism, and it is the absence of substantial criticism that makes the sporadic attacks on the press by government and others so telling.

Let us now assume that all areas of experience, all institutions of modern society, must be subjected to criticism. This criticism must be based upon precise observation, clear procedure, unemotional language, subject to the cooperative correction of others, and occurring in the public forum where all affected by the institution can at least observe and comment on the critical process. Moreover, it must clarify our experience of the institution and scrutinize the values upon which the institution is based. The only things sacred in this process are the rules and procedures by which it is done and the manners necessary to make this a continuing process.

If we assume that the newspaper press is the most general forum in which this process can operate, let us look at an omnibus newspaper like the New York Times. In its pages, particularly the Sunday edition, one finds information, analysis, criticism of every contemporary institution. It treats art, architecture, literature, education, politics, business, religion, finance, film, and so forth. Let us not discuss at length how well it treats these several institutions it covers. The record is, of course, quite uneven. But that aside, the fact remains that one institution is curiously exempt from analysis and criticism--the press itself. The Times does, of course, deal with books and devotes a daily and Sunday column to television. Aside from the quality and relevance of this, the Times is virtually silent about the newspaper: itself in particular, the medium in general. A rise in the wholesale price of newsprint will be reported, but that, we all know, is merely to signal an impending rise in the price of the newspaper itself. The newspaper does not, perhaps it cannot, turn upon itself the factual scrutiny, the critical acumen, the descriptive language, that it regularly devotes to other institutions. And one of the things readers are curious about, one of the things that is an important fact of their experience, one of the things they must understand if they are to critically know anything, is something critical about the newspaper itself.

There are a number of responses to this argument that must be anticipated. The first is the argument heard from many editors that "we are criticized all the time, that criticism of the press is abundant." I think not. The critical literature in all the fields about which newspapers report, from art through education, to government and science is enormous and often of quite high quality. For every first class work of journalistic criticism there are a hundred exemplary works of literary criticism. There is, simply, no important critical literature concerning journalism and while the newspaper fosters such literature in every other field, it does not foster it in its own domain.

It is possible to name critics of high quality in most fields, but in journalism beyond Ben Bagdikian there is no one. Why are people not drawn to the criticism of journalism as they are to education, literature, film, architecture, religion? What criticism of journalism exists is, unlike literature, episodic, of generally inferior quality, and without foundation in a tradition. Given the importance, the self-proclaimed importance, of journalism this is a rather curious fact to explain.

Sometimes it will be argued that much press cirticism occurs in the Columbia Journalism Review, in the new reviews that have sprung up in many cities, in the underground press. But such an argument misses the point. Because foreign policy is analyzed in Foreign Affairs and other such "small" journals does not exempt the newspress from a critical responsibility in foreign affairs. The point is that the press should be analyzed for the audience which regularly consumes the press--the newspaper reader--and not merely for coteries of professionals and students that queue up before the Chicago Journalism Review.

It is often argued that criticism of the press is found in the newspaper because the press reports the statements of its critics and in turn press professionals respond. But this is wholly inadequate. First, it is altogether too sporadic and undisciplined. The criticism awaits some public figure or celebrity becoming exercised and lashing out at what he takes to be unfair treatment. Journalists usually respond in kind and the public then takes its choice among opinions. Moreover, it is usually opinions undisciplined on both sides by fact or substantial analysis, a kind of shouting match that usually talks by the point in question. Shall we admit that those who make news by assailing the press are not usually the best critics, are too often engaged in grinding their own special axe? Shall we also admit that the press does not take kindly to criticism and usually responds in the most uninformative manner? Gay Talese speaks to the point:

> I think that journalists perhaps...become through the years of writing about others and not being written about ourselves--maybe we become thin-skinned, or unaccustomed I should say, to being written about objectively...People in the arts have to be willing to accept incredible criticism from the press, from the critics--whereas the press does not have critics. It should.

From another floor of the newspaper Barry Bingham makes much the same point:

> We are, let's face it, establishment men of a particular kind. We possess a pretty intoxicating measure of power. It is our privileged function to criticize everybody else, including the politicians we help to elect. At the same time we tend to respond to criticism of our actions with startled and red-faced outrage.

In making such responses the press often violates every standard of journalism. Journalists generally agree that dispassionate language and analysis, where affect is tightly controlled and information is maximized, is the appropriate mode of reasoned public discourse. But any criticism of the press or threat is treated as a matter of high drama. It calls forth new versions of Armeggedeon and the most stereotyped, bloated language imaginable. Normal Isaacs in the Columbia Journalism Review:

> The date was June 29, 1972--and while the countdown to 1984 stood at eleven years and six months, one had to reflect that George Orwell was, after all, author, not infallible seer. The Supreme Court of the United States, by five to four vote, ruled that the power of a grand jury took precedence over the heretofore presumed protection of the first amendment.

The problem here is in Mr. Isaacs' facts and tone. How can something be a right--the sly inclusion of presumed almost saves it--that has never been recognized in common, constitutional or legislative law? Moreover, the lead violates every standard of argument known to journalism. He is talking about an important problem, but he brings to it deceptive high church rhetoric. When educators, let us say, respond in angry and flamboyant language to newspaper articles written about them and their institutions, the press takes this as a failure of educators to understand the process of free and open argument and inquiry. Rarely does the press respond in the language they expect from others, and all too often banners of constitutional rights and the people's right to know are used to paper over real difficulties.

The practice of reporting attacks by government along with responses by professional journalists is simply gruel too thin for our needs. The Op-Ed page of the Times has recently specialized in printing messages from the administration, messages which are subsequently answered by Tom Wicker or James Reston or Lester Markel. Meanwhile, the public increasingly withdraws respect from the partners in this verbal tennis match who largely reflect narrow and partisan attitudes towards public need.

Let me anticipate two more responses to the argument that the press is perhaps the least criticized of our important institutions. Editors often point to attempts on the part of some newspapers to create columns about the press or to create a new role within the newspaper, that of ombudsman. I applaud both of these gestures, look upon them as promising, and wish to say nothing that would discourage them. When the first effort is mentioned, the example is usually the Washington Post and its column "News Business." The ombudsman is often identified with the pioneering effort of the Louisville Courier-Journal and its ombudsman, John Herchenroeder. Similar positions have been created at a number of other newspapers often under a less European title.

Neither of these practices is completely sufficient. The "News Business" column at the Post was written by Ben Bagdikian and undoubtedly will be written in the future by a professional newsman. Much as I admire Mr. Bagdikian's work, I hope that he would agree that one needs sustained critical attention from intellectuals, scholars, writers and ordinary citizens that are outside the apparatus of the newspaper, not merely deviant and unusually courageous within it.

The ombudsman suffers from the same ailment of being within the newspaper, internal to it rather than outside of it, and while it does mean that errors are taken seriously, followed up and corrected, and thereby is responsive to the public, it is less than a complete response. It does not necessarily breed ongoing criticism; it does not allow outsiders to take the initiative except in response to detectable errors of fact, attribution and judgment. While it enlarges the critical compass, it does not create a sufficiently diverse forum for the critical examination of the newspaper.

A final defense against crticism is usually expressed as the belief that the public does not, and probably cannot, understand newspapers, and that independent critics, because they are not journalists, are not qualified to criticize the press. This is argument by mystification. When a university president rejects criticism directed against him and his institution because journalists are not academics and cannot hope to understand the university, the press quite properly points out that every institution attempts to protect itself by hiding behind special mysteries of the craft, mysteries decipherable only by the initiated and that the mystery behind the mystery is that there is no mystery at all. Newspapers defend themselves against outside criticism in the same terms they properly reject when offered by the institutions they cover.

This position is often presented in a decent but misplaced way. Some publishers understand that the public knows little about the operations of newspapers and, therefore, should be educated. Barry Bingham has argued that newspaper credibility suffers because readers do not understand newspapers.

> But whose fault is it that so many people misread their papers and misunderstand their actions? Surely publishers and editors are at least partly to blame for failing to instruct the public in the fundamentals of how a newspaper operates. There will always be malignant critics who choose to

> misinterpret the motives of journalists. There are a great many others, however, who go honestly but hopelessly astray in their efforts to follow what we are doing.

There is truth in this but the implication is wrong. I certainly do not want the press educating me about the press any more than I want the State Department educating me about foreign policy. And it is impossible to turn this task over to the schools. Most people do not go to college, and I doubt we could accomplish the task with everyone in forced enrollment. No the critical education will have to occur within the newspapers themselves but not by the newspapers and professional journalists, at least exclusively.

I sometimes feel, and I do not wish to be overly argumentative here, that the press has been corrupted by its own influence. Since World War II we have witnessed a decline in the independent influence of character forming, culture bearing agencies such as religion, the family, the ethnic group and neighborhood. The Commission on Freedom of the Press recognized this, perhaps even encouraged it, and argued that the press itself would have to become an authoritative source of values, would have to, along with the schools, enter the vacuum left by the decline of older agencies of culture and character. The press has happily stepped into this vacuum not only for the profit it brings but also for the influence it yields. Journalists, particularly those drawn in from the arts and the "new journalists," have also sensed the new avenue to power and fame through the press. But as the press has become more important, as it has become more professional, as it has become the spokesman for the community, it has also become more remote from community life. And whenever there is remoteness of an institution, a critical community grows to mediate between that institution and the community itself.

The emergence of a critical community should not be resisted by the press; it should be encouraged. Criticism is not the mark of failure and irrelevance; it is the sign of vigor and importance. In the Soviet Union the arts are not only actively censored but hyper-criticized within Soviet bureaucracy. While there is an unfortunate side to this, it does suggest a positive value. In the Soviet Union poetry and literature are taken to be important; the work of artists is taken to be an active part of life, crucial material in the shaping and definition of Russian culture. American artists should be so fortunate. Here they can do anything and not only does the government ignore them, but the general community, when it is not yawning, merely collects their work for status or investment.

The criticism of the press in America, as sporadic, as inadequate, as ill intended as it often is, is a tribute to the importance of the press in American life, an importance felt not only by government officials but by the community generally. The proper response is not a retreat behind slogans and defensive postures but the encouragement of an active and critical tradition and an important body of professional critics

Because such a critical community has not emerged the press feels itself under greater attack than ever before. The last time this occurred in a sustained way was during the McCarthy era. Then the attack was primarily directed against television, movies and the presumed left wing press. Today all the media and all newspapers are feeling the criticism, and they react from weakness, as if they are fragile institutions being buffeted about by hostile winds and about to fall before the onslaught. There is some truth in this response but not much. By becoming more professional, in the narrow sense of self-enhancing, the press is going the way of other professions--teaching, medicine, law, architecture--that can no longer adequately connect with their communities and whose power and remoteness breeds indifference or hostility, a hostility that flashes into the open when touched by an administration spokesman. The answer is not, I think, response in kind but the creation of a tradition of press criticism that will re-connect the newspaper to the community it serves.

But how does a newspaper connect with its community? The most generally accepted method of connection is through the roles of the representative and spectator. Here the newspaper is the eyes and ears of the audience; it goes where the reader cannot go, so that the newspaper is representing the audience at City Hall because the audience as an assembled community, a public, cannot be present. It is in this vein that the newspaper takes itself to be representing the public, or more fashionably these days, the people. This is a noble role but, as I have already indicated, it possesses a fatal weakness: the community to be represented has become remarkably dissolved, is in eclipse. The evidence of this eclipse is that the newspaper has little contact of any direct kind, physical or verbal, with this community. In effect, the entire system of communication has become one of address: that is, the people are spoken to, are informed, are often propagandized but in no sense are their own perceptions, understandings, judgments fed back into the process. Certainly the letters to the editor column does represent some kind of community return to the source of information, but this column, often the best column in the newspaper, is radically underutilized and constitutes a thin trickle of return to an outpouring of information. More on this later.

In effect, the press principally connects to its audience by being an informer of relatively passive spectators. But this is a radically attenuated sense of represent. In fact, I think it is not a system of representation at all. The reporter at city hall less represents his audience than he represents his profession in both its commercial and literary aspects. This mode of representation or connection has led to the progressive distancing of the newspaper from its audience, a fact to which I have already alluded. That is, the newspaper becomes effectively responsible to itself: to its own professional standards and to its own commercial needs. In the process it loses contact with its audience who, like the spectator at the construction of a new building grotesquely marring a community, are asked to bow to the standards of the professionals constructing the building when those standards are not even explained let alone defended.

A second and more desirable method of connection is through criticism; that is, through the creation of an on-going process of judgment that sets standards for the production, distribution and consumption of journalism, and in which the community participates in significant ways. There are, at the moment, as Howard Ziff has suggested to me, three modes of criticism: two of them are inadequate and it is to the third that I wish to pay major attention.

The first form of criticism is what we might call criticism by standards of public or social responsibility. This is the form of criticism that we have largely talked about up to this point. It involves the discussion of freedom, rights and objectivity. As a critical process it largely involves various government officials and members of the press who have, at this point, largely succeeded in talking by one another and the public. The weakness of this situation has led to the recommendation for national and local press councils to be the vehicle of assessment of social responsibility.

Are such institutions the answer? I think not. In the United States national press councils are likely to be presided over by blue ribbon panels though run by a professional staff. That is, the blue ribbon panel is selected so as to represent the community under the theory that the press itself does not and cannot adequately represent the public interest. This interest also cannot be represented by government. These panels always have a warming air of reassurance to them; like quasi-judicial regulatory bodies, they are composed of men taken to be pillars of the community or, more likely these days, to represent the various segments, class and ethnic, of a community. Unfortunately, in the United States the operation of these councils is likely to be invested in the hands of professional staffs and the blue ribbon panel is likely to be remote from their everyday operation. The idea of a press council sounds like a fine idea because it is so British and I have no doubt that such councils can work in more aristocratic societies where there are men with enough general learning, cultural depth, commitment to the public interest, and leisure to participate in more than pro forma ways. In the United States press councils are likely to become one more bureacracy.

What about local press councils? Perhaps they will work, but I am not sanguine for the reasons announced above. The people who are expected to participate in the details and time consuming work of such councils--participation absolutely necessary if they are not to become bureaucratized--are already riddled by over-participation. This crisis in participation has already defeated some of the best elements of the public and does not augur well for local councils.

While the attempt to create a critical tradition of discussion on the public responsibility of the press, is perhaps an advance over viewing the press merely as a representative of the people, it is still not an effective answer to the problems we face and, as many journalists and publishers feel, may have its own peculiar dangers and pitfalls.

A second critical tradition to connect the public with the media is that proposed by the social scientists and might be called scientistic criticism. Here the standards for judging the press are not abstract rights, or codes of press performances or press council evaluations of responsibility--all things on which social scientists are rather quiet--but standards derived from scientific studies of the impact of the media upon audiences. The prototype here is the national commissions on violence and pornography where the fitness, rightness, and suitability of the material is judged not by intrinsic merit, or abstract rights but by the effect the material has on audience attitudes and behavior. I am not going to discuss this standard of criticism for I take it to be wrongheaded. I think its disastrous results can already be seen in the report of the commission on obscenity, for the social scientific standards, are in a general way destructive of culture. They have no room for considerations of beauty, quality, truth, or reasonableness and it is obvious that any criticism of the press cannot merely test audience reactions--this would enshrine public opinion into an even more unbearable niche than it now occupies--but must work toward autonomous standards in which the audience participates but which does not allow the mere criterion of audience appetite to dictate the cultural terms of journalism.

It is a third sense of criticism I wish to analyze and recommend to you, and while I lack a precise term to describe it--literary or philosophic criticism immediately come to mind--cultural criticism will do for our purposes, at least as a label.

What do I mean by cultural criticism? Well, I certainly do not mean debates over abstract shibboleths such as the people's right to know, problems of access, protection of reporter's sources or standards of press performance derived from abstract canons. As much as these items may occasionally enter the critical tradition, they do not constitute such a tradition in any significant measure. By cultural criticism I mean an on-going process of exchange, of debate between the press and its audience and, in particular, those among the audience most qualified by reason of motive and capacity to enter the critical arena. But what is the substance of this criticism, toward what is it directed? Earlier on I argued that a democratic tradition of criticism required at least three things: a set of procedures for indicating how we observe what we observe, a language relatively neutral in terms of affect or emotional coloring, and a forum in which an active response can be made to the procedures of observation and the language of description. In addition I indicated certain habits of mind were necessary: a desire to take account of contrary findings, to correct errors and revise postulates. These are the terms and manners of press criticism at the highest level of development and also the form and character of criticism that are in the shortest supply.

I am arguing that press criticism is essentially the criticism of language: it is a vital response on the part of the public to the language the press uses to describe events and to the events that accepted standards of journalistic language allow to be described. It is fully analogous to literary criticism or criticism of any cultural object: an assessment of the adequacy of the methods men use to observe the world, the language they use to describe the world, and the kind of world that such methods and language implies is in existence. It requires therefore close public attention to the methods, procedures and techniques of journalistic investigation and the language of journalistic reporting. Moreover, this scrutiny must occur before the same audience that everyday consumes the end product of these procedures and language. This is the basic critical act in journalism, or so I take it, but I take it also to be the case that little criticism of this kind is in existence and that which is in existence--found largely in the reviews--rarely reaches the public.

I take it to be a remarkable fact that each year I read more of Homer Bigart than I do of Plato and yet today 2500 years after Plato wrote there is more critical work published on Plato every year than there is on Bigart. In fact, there is nothing published on Bigart, here used as an archetypal reporter, yet what he writes provides the critical diet for a major segment of the national "elite" community. I have read more words by James Reston than perhaps any other human, living or dead, yet I have never seen this work "reviewed" or criticized except when a few pieces are collected in book form and then the review is inevitably by a comrade in the press. It is an anomolous fact that all of us consume more words by journalists than any other group and yet our largest and perhaps most important literary diet is never given close critical scrutiny in any systematic way. In universities we critically review the work of men in every field, devoting thousands of hours to the perceptions, methods and style of obscure 18th century romantic poets, yet never consider that journalists, who daily inform our lives require, for their good and ours, at least the same critical attention. In journalism schools, preoccupied as they are with teaching the givens of the craft plus the academic asides in press history and law, critical attention is rarely given to journalistic procedure or writing or the major figures whose work exemplifies the strenghts and limitations of journalism practice. Moreover, unlike other professions, journalists rarely gather to critically review one another's work, to expose its weaknesses, errors of commission and omission, and its failure to live up to professional let alone public standards. Let me make the judgment general: journalists, of all groups who expose their work to the public, are less critically examined by professional critics, the public or their colleagues. Oh, maybe physicans have it easier. In any event, at journalistic gatherings they don't critique one another's work; they give one another awards.

Why should this be true? There are a number of reasons deriving from the nature of journalism but a fundamental reason is that journalism is rarely thought of as a literary act, parallel with the novel, the essay and the scientific report. However, journalism is, before it is a business, an institution or a set of rights, a body of literature. Like all literature journalism is a creative and imaginative work, a symbolic strategy; journalism sizes up situations, names their elements and names them in a way that contains an attitude toward them. Journalism provides what Kenneth Burke calls strategies for situations--"strategies for selecting enemies and allies, for socializing losses, for warding off evil eye, for purification, propitiation and desanctification, consolation, and vengence, admonition and exhortation, implicit commands or instructions of one sort or another." Journalism provides audiences with models for action and feeling, with ways to size up situations. It shares these qualities with all literary acts and therefore like all literary acts must be kept under constant critical examination for the manner, method and purpose whereby it carries out these actions.

Journalism is not only literary art; it is industrial art. As Howard Ziff points out in another essay in this series, the inverted pyramid, the 5 W lead, and associated techniques are as much a product of industrialization as, to use his example, Mr. Campbell's soup cans. The methods, procedures and canons of journalism were developed not only to satisfy the demands of the profession but to meet the needs of industry to turn out a mass produced commodity. These canons are enshrined in the profession as rules of news selection judgment, and writing. They also form the positive content of most journalism education. Yet they are more than mere rules of communication. They are, like the methods of the novelists, determiners of what can be written and in what way. In this sense the techniques of journalism define what is considered to be real: what can be written about and how it can be understood. From the standpoint of the audience the techniques of journalism determines what the audience can think--the range of what is taken to be real on a given day. If something happens that cannot be packaged by the industrial formula, then, in a fundamental sense, it has not happened, it cannot be brought to the attention of the audience. If something happens that is only rendered in distorted fashion by the canons of journalism, then it is rendered in such distorted fashion, often without correction.

Now I am overstating the case to give a deliberate emphasis. We do not think of the conventions of journalistic investigation and reporting as stylistic strategies which not only report the world but bring a certain kind of world into existence. These canons, as I think I could demonstrate if space allowed, were derived from 19th century utilitarianism and today reflect a basically utilitarian-scientific-capitalistic orientation toward events. The conventions of journalism implicitly dissect events from a particular point of view. It is a point of view that emphasizes, as one would expect from utilitarianism, the role of personalities or actors in the creation of events and ties the definition of news to timeliness. What these conventions lack, to engage in a little criticism of my own, are precisely those elements of news which constitute the basic information on which popular rule rests: historical background and continuity, the motives and purposes of political actors, and the impact of technology, demographic change and other impersonal forces which contribute so much to the shape of contemporary events.

We must, in short, devote continuous critical attention to the methods and conventions of journalism for these methods and conventions order the world we live in into a comprehensible or baffling whole. Many of the conventions in which journalism is rooted--the inverted pyramid style, the obsessive reliance on the interview as a method of observation--are products of the 19th century and their contemporary existence implies a silent conspiracy between journalists and audiences to keep the doors of the house locked tight even though all the windows have blown out. What we lamely call the conventions of journalism were developed for another time and place. They were designed to report an orderly world of politics, international alignments, class structure and culture. Such conventions reflected and enhanced this order and fleshed out with incidental information an already settled mode of life. Human interest, entertainment, trivia, political events could be rendered in a straightforward 5 W's manner for they occurred within a setting of secure meanings and structures. Today the structure is not set and the meanings are not firm. Politics, culture, classes, generations, and international alignments are not at all orderly, yet we still filter them through conventional glasses which reduce them to type, which excorsize the realities of the world through conventional stylistics and conventional names. Indeed, this is what is meant by the now occasionally heard epithet that "communications is a menace."

Let me give three examples of the way in which journalism as a stylistic strategy renders a disservice to its audience. The examples are not new or unusual; in fact, they are well known. The first case is the reporting on Viet Nam. Allow me an extended quote from an essay I wrote in 1967:

> How does one render the reality that is Viet Nam in intelligible terms? The question is not merely rhetorical, for increasingly the ability of the American people to order and enhance their existence depends on their ability to know what really is going on. But we have this great arrogance about "communications." We treat problems of understanding as exercises in message transmittal. So here we sit shrouded in plastic, film, magnetic tape, photographs and lines of type thinking that two minutes of film or four column inches of canned tape adequately render what is happening in Viet Nam or for that matter anywhere else. In point of fact, the conventions of broadcast and newspaper journalism are just about completely inadequate to "tell" this story. I am not merely caviling about turning the war into an elaborate accounting exercise of hills, tonnage and dead (after all, that is the only measure of hope and progress one has in such a war). But why is this after all a war of accounting exercises? What are the political realities that underscore the day to day events? They are known--dimly of course--and can be found in the pages of more esoteric journals of opinion and in a half hour converstion with a war correspondent when he is not talking through an inverted pyramid. But this is not a war that affects elites alone nor is it a time when we can all spend after hours with exhausted correspondents. What is sinful is that what is known about the war, and, what is the same thing, the stylistics that can render this knowledge rarely make their way to the television screen or the newspapers. There the conventions of the craft reduce what is a hurly-burly, disorganized, fluid, non-rectilinear war into something that is straight, balanced,

> and moving in rectilinear ways. The conventions not only report the war but they endow it, pari passu, with an order and logic--an order and logic which simply masks the underlying realities. Consequently, for opponents and advocates of the war, as well as those betwixt and between, the war haunts consciousness like a personal neurosis rather than a reality to be understood.
>
> Under these circumstances one turns naturally to fiction and to film as the media which reflect the condition of the world and allow knowledge to be worked into consciousness effectively. Consequently, modern sensibility is drawn to the novel and film as the media of consciousness because what is found in newspapers and on television film just doesn't seem to "tell it like it is." Perhaps for television one needs to send Godard, Antonioni, Arthur Penn or Richard Brooks to Viet Nam to cinematically render the story. Perhaps only Joseph Heller could make sense of it journalistically. In any event, the conventions of the craft do not do it and the audiences know this even if the publishers and professors do not.

And to make the case contemporary, one need only look at the ludicrous story to which we have been subject in the last year: the attempt to find and define the last American killed in Viet Nam. The story, so natural to our accepted procedures, merely masked the reality of the war, as if it were a conflict with a beginning, middle and end. Viet Nam might have been a story but it is not like one of those we read in our youth.

Second, American journalism is still absurdly tied to events and personalities. American journalists are, in general, at a loss for what to do on the days when there isn't any news breaking. We have not learned how to report on the underlife of the country, how to get at the subterranen and frequently glacial movements that provide the meaningful substructure which determines the eruption of events and the emergence of personalities that we now call news. We still do not know how to bring to life the significance of the invisible: a slow shift in Black migration patterns out of the South, the relation between grain sales to the Soviet Union and grain elevators failing in small Illinois towns, the significance of the reduction of the birthrate and the strains created by radically unequal age cohorts, the relatively rapid embourgeoisment of Blacks--all these "events" which, because they are not tied to personalities or timeliness, escape daily journalism yet constitute the crucial stories determining the American future.

A third example I draw from Howard Ziff. The conventions of journalism have led to an increased distance between "the Press and the pace and detail of everyday life." The ordinary events of everyday lives--things which in their meaning and consequence are far from ordinary and insignificant for the audience--have no place in daily journalism. We lack the techniques of investigation and the methods of writing to tell what it feels like to be a Black, or a Pole, or a woman--or god forbid a journalist or professor today. This mainstream of overwhelmingly significant ordinary life--what a literary critic would call the "felt quality" of life--is a main connection between the newspaper and its audience yet we do not know how to report it well. As a result the newspaper reports a world which increasingly does not connect with the life of its audience in the most fundamental sense that the audience experiences life.

Let me summarize: the basic critical act in journalism is public scrutiny of the methods by which journalists define and get what we call news and the conventions by which they deliver it to the public. This criticism must not only be sustained and systematic, as with literary criticism, but it must also occur in the pages of the newspapers itself, in from of the audience that regularly consumes, uses, or digests what is presented. Who should do it? In a certain sense, everyone. I have suggested that the newspaper itself must bring this critical community into existence. It must search out and find within its public those laymen that can and are interested in making a critical response to what they see and read daily. Hopefully such people will come from all strata of the public and represent its major segments. But such a community will not come into existence if the press passively awaits its appearance. The press must recognize that it has a stake in the creation of a critical community and then use its resources to foster it.

To a certain extent the letters to the editors column performs part of this function already. But the activity must be made more sustained, systematic, and actively promoted. In short, a permanent dialogue between the paper and its readers must be created. When I read a sharp incisive letter to the editor concerning the selection of news, the omission of significant events, or the style of reporting, I am dismayed that the letter itself is rarely used as a news peg. The paper itself so rarely responds actively and thoughtfully; it so rarely explains and justifies its procedures (an act which in itself will reveal to journalists some of the weaknesses of journalism); it so rarely invites the writer to expound at length and in a column his basic critique of journalism. I am also dismayed that papers so rarely search out those silent but intelligent members of its audience to ask them to systematically criticize, in its pages, what it is doing or failing to do in covering an event, presenting an issue or reporting on a community. In short, the press must have as one of its goals the cultivation and sponsorship of a critical community by whatever means possible.

Finally, what are the implications of this argument for schools of journalism? I trust many such implications are clear so I will be brief. Journalism schools must redefine the very subject matter they are teaching. Journalism faculties regularly conceive the press as, most importantly, a business, a set of constitutionally protected rights, or a state of technology. Such faculties do not view journalism as a literary or cultural act that is to be critically analyzed. If one needs proof of this, he need only look at any history of journalism. Such works run on endlessly about the corporate history of the press, the rising arc of press freedom and responsibility, and the dates and places of the first photoengraving, cylinder press, or wire service story. No hint enters such works--I exaggerate to be sure--that the history of journalism is, first and foremost, the history of reporting: the history of the events that have happened in the world over the last 300 years and the ways in which journalists have chosen to make these events intelligible (or, rather often, obscure). In fact, we do not have a history of reporting--an exceptionally strange omission; we not only don't have it, we haven't even conceived it.

To an important degree, journalism schools have lost their subject. Journalism is a profession that deals practically with the relationship between the word (though more than that) and the world. Journalism schools are more interested in the press: the institutions, the rights, the technology. However important these latter phenomena are; they are ancillary. The good journalists I know rarely look back at the apparatus behind them--except in annoyance--but rather outward at the world. They are trying to determine what is happening of significance and what does it require to render these "happenings" adequately. Journalists do not share this orientation with journalism schools. Most schools let liberal arts take care of the world while they care for the press, and the word is seldom treated by either.

But surely, to anticipate a general response, that must be wrong? Journalism schools teach news writing and investigative reporting. Yes, but they are not taught in terms of the relationship between the word and the world. News writing is generally taught the way assembly line workers are instructed to put together cars--by industrial formulas, and reporting is often no more than learning the conventional tricks of the trade. The journalism curriculum often reinforces, even if badly, all the biases of the craft. It teaches students about the press, initiates them into received knowledge, and paints a frequently puerile portrait of the ethics and history of the craft.

Jounralism schools must move the process of reporting--what is worth knowing? how does one know it? how can it be presented?--to the intellectual center of the curriculum. I emphasize the process of reporting rather than the methods of reporting. The idea of process recognizes that what is humanly significant and how significance is captured changes over time while we must start from the givens of the craft, we must transcend them. Rather than transmitting formulas--a task which hardly deserves the label "higher education"--journalism educators must struggle with themselves and their students over the difficult intellectual problem: to put it too grandiloquently--what is real? how do we know it? how do we present it?

If we faced that task, the problem of criticism would evaporate. We would then be educating journalists who are also critics of journalism--of the procedures by which we report the world. Journalism faculties might then also take on a little muscle and retreat from the defensive posturing of supporters of press practice and become critics of press performance.

The greatest contribution of journalism education to journalism is not hired hands but students, faculty and a community of critics of journalistic method. It is only through criticism that news and the newspaper can meet the standard set out for it by Robert Park: "The function of news is to orient man and society in an actual world. Insofar as it succeeds it tends to preserve the sanity of the individual and the permanence of society."

A Paper Supporting Proposition #15: Evaluation of Journalism Schools

There is a great need for constant evaluation of organization, administration and teaching in journalism schools. This should include an improvement in the process by which journalism programs are accredited and classroom teaching is assessed.

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Appendix I : A list of the major elements in evaluation and accreditation (Meyer)

Appendix II : A summary of this paper's points and recommendations (Meyer)

Appendix III : The AASDJ Schwartz Committee summary of accreditation factors

We have arrived at the threshold of a major and continuing exercise in journalism education, to wit: how do we separate the sheep from the goats and keep them separated?

How does a goat promote itself to sheepdom and remain so exalted?

More accurate yardsticks of quality are sought, both for formal accreditation and as guides to continuing self-study and evaluation. What makes up teaching quality is difficult to define and quantify.

Schools are proliferating. Hundreds of junior colleges offer journalism training, in many instances of dubious quality. Each school has its own special definition of its goals and objectives. Among the major schools, some stress vocational training, some communications theory and research, each to its own degree; some go both ways.

The media realize the importance of well prepared personnel and expect constantly improving levels of performance from teaching institutions. Educators have competition, as well as a professional desire to excel and to have their graduates reflect glory upon alma mater.

Teachers seem to agree, as part of the proposition for this treatise suggests, that systematic evaluation is fundamental to a better school environment.

The accreditation process begins with the broad premise that a school should be judged against the purposes it has set for itself. If it achieves those purposes, it passes muster. As a broad premise, this general standard is acceptable. However, the outside judge viewing the various programs finds himself in the role of a drama critic observing a high school senior class play one day and a Broadway tragedy the next. The genre may be the same but the criteria and relative achievements are not truly comparable.

Be that as it may, the standards defined for accreditation offer reasonable ones for self study and evaluation, too. (see Appendix I)

CONTINUING EVALUATION

Schools change in tone and quality as faculties and administrators change and as leaders of the total institutions of which journalism schools and colleges are a part change. The depth of the urge to self-evaluation depends on the people in charge; a taut, happy ship of journalism education requires the same degree of attention to people, standards and results, as well as to dispassionate self-appraisal, as a newspaper or a textile mill.

The steamroller of conformity and rule making will bring demand for self-study on journalism education from outside institutions and from institutional leaders upon their own various departments. There will be check-off lists and charts for self-analysis. It seems certain that any official accreditation visit in the near future will have to be preceded by a thorough, disciplined self-study on the part of the school to be reviewed.

In the end, a sloppy administrator and an unmotivated staff will perform a self-study to about the same degree of efficiency and reliability as they perform their regular duties. The chief value of the internal evaluation might lie principally in what it would reveal about the people who performed it. I do not know of any way to get superior performance from inferior or lazy people and superior, devoted people should not have to waste their time proving and re-proving their capabilities. Let their worth in the time between formal accreditation visits be revealed, as it will, through the accomplishments of their graduates and the quality of the students attracted to their courses with a minimum of forced contemplation of their own navels.

Other papers here will deal with the proper mix of training and experience teachers should possess, course content and variety, and so on, meanwhile continuing measurements, reviews of faculty, teaching, facilities, accounting and filing practices, counseling or students, even psychological testing of teachers for ability and attitude, are possible on a routine basis, with proper discipline and supervision.

Newspapers use regular evaluations of people performance, conducted by department heads and reviewed by higher management. Evaluations can be standardized and executives taught the process, applying criteria with understanding and some disinterest. I do not see why a school could not employ similar devices, although in the end we return again to someone's intelligence and judgment, and his response to someone else's. It is ever thus. Even a computer must be programmed by somebody.

As preparation for an accreditation review, self-evaluation must involve a school's definition of its mission, plus examination of all its administrative and classroom activities and careful follow-up of graduates to see if that mission is being fulfilled. A newspaper can measure its performance by circulation or advertising revenues, but its quality only by whether or not it is living up to its publishing misssion. If it cannot define that mission, it cannot edit or publish to it, instruct its subeditors in their ultimate duties to readers, nor measure its performance.

As there is no one objective suitable to every publication, there is no one shining goal for every school nor any single standard of worth.

So on this question we come full circle: a journalism school must merit the approval of its institution's president and regents and will find its best detailed, item by item critique in the judgment of its peers in education and its colleagues in the profession. For periodic, practical estimates of that nature we already have a process established. It is called accreditation.

THE ACCREDITATION CONFUSION

Accreditation of journalism education establishments in the recent past consisted primarily of separating acceptable programs from ones clearly bad. The process was somewhat clubby, though charged with a high sense of responsibility on the part of accreditation visitors who wanted (1) better employes for their papers or broadcast stations; (2) an improved regard for journalism as an academic undertaking; (3) improved job opportunities for graduates of accredited sequences; and (4) certification of academic worth.

Until the 1970's fewer than 50 schools had accredited sequences. Professional insiders could keep up with personnel changes. Reputations flourished or failed by word of mouth. Accreditation visitors knew pretty much what they would find at a school before arriving on campus.

For its time, the system didn't work too badly. Most of the students in journalism sequences intended to find careers in journalism-related vocations and were learning enough basics on school newspapers to cover deficiencies in their classrooms. Faculties were still trying to prove to city editors, and I hope the need to do that has passed, that scholastic journalism training could produce more capable reporters than, say, history or political science departments.

There have been many changes in the last five years and more are coming. Forces in the academic world, other accrediting agencies and organizations and the federal government impel them. A great urge for improvement and clarification of the accreditation process has become manifest among journalism educators themselves. They are even now engaged in discussing assorted nitty-gritties, some important and some picayune. There is a stirring, however, you evaluate its portent, arising in part from the academics' true desire to turn out better students, in part as a defensive reaction to the industry's uninformed skepticism regarding journalism education, in part from faculties' deep wish to be thought equal members with other disciplines of the professorial community. Nor should I overlook the general revelation that the quality of journalism in this country has a lot to do with whether people can participate knowledgeably in whatever society they find themselves. Professionalism, meaning practical competence and ethical understanding, suddenly appears to the public to be as important for journalists as for doctors or engineers.

I think these factors help explain the surge of interest in accreditation standards and methods.

Journalism school administrators favor accreditation and want it handled by one national body, authoritative surveys of educators reveal. Professionals agree, as is indicated by continuing financial support which though modest comes to the American Council on Education in Journalism the recognized accrediting agency, with a minimum of complaint.

Accreditation in journalism, as in other academic areas, offers certain assurances to students, employers of graduates, administrators, parents who pay fees, legislators or trustees who offer budgets and admission deans who must evaluate transfer credits.

A major reason for accreditation today in some fields, perhaps only peripherally in journalism, has to do with government grants in aid, construction assistance, research contracts and exchange fellowships. The carrot of federal aid unfortunately goes with the stick of increasing governmental influence in the accrediting process. Let us also deal with that later on.

Accreditation should provide a sense of direction to the country's training in journalism. The ACEJ board and its accrediting committee combines educators and professionals, the latter from newspapers, magazines, broadcasting and public relations. The real world of journalism thus mixes with the training and theoretical world of the campus. Representatives of both find increased understanding of each other as a result.

The accreditors' study procedure offers valuable counsel to schools whether their examined sequences are accredited or not. It provides subtle pressures to set worthy goals, to improve internal communications, to improve relations with institutional administrations, to consider needs for change. ACEJ guidelines offer a basis for continuing self-appraisal by journalism faculties. Sometimes, accreditation acts as an inexpensive consultant service used by journalism administrators to coax reluctant chancellors into altering student-faculty ratios or increasing budgets and salaries. "If we don't," the journalism dean can tell the provost, "we may lose our accreditation." Academic empires have been constructed on lesser threats.

ORGANIZATION AND PROCESS

No problem in journalism education can be separated from the problems of accreditation. This dictum applies even to the few major schools that neither have nor seek accreditation for they are part of the total journalism educational scene and cannot escape the triumphs nor sorrows of their sisters.

To begin to solve accrediting problems, then, there must be a high degree of confidence in the process and in the agency, the ACEJ itself. Thus, the ACEJ, which is to say most of us as its constituents, must address itself to the fundamental philosophies of journalism education, define its purposes, describe and maintain standards, constantly review and improve them and finally apply them consistently and fairly, giving proper breathing room for innovation, experimentation and each school's individual concept of mission.

Obviously, we are not going to birth and sustain a parallel accrediting agency. We are only marginally maintaining the one we have. So it must be made to work well and responsively.

We should keep in mind throughout any discussion of the ACEJ that its administration consists of volunteers, plus one parttime executive at Northwestern and another at Missouri. It could not afford them if it paid fair wages for the time it demands of them. Yet, their burdens increase annually and the growing insistence, a substantial part of that by the federal government, on more detailed reports, reviews, appeal procedures and the like suggests that ACEJ's clients and other contacts think they are dealing with a lavishly staffed secretariat.

The ACEJ is supported by 20 organizations in education and the allied professions and by fees from schools seeking accreditation or re-accreditation. Member associations in some instances pay only token amounts. The ASNE, for example, recently increased its annual contribution from $600 to $750.

A school desiring accreditation requests a visit and pays the visitors' expenses. The number of visitors depends on the sequences to be examined. The team almost invariably includes an administrator from an accredited sequence, a newspaper man or woman and, if a broadcasting or a public relations sequence is involved, a representative from those industries and other teachers from those sequences.

The subject school also must prepare a cumbersome advance book presenting its budget, salary schedules, transcripts of representative students, evidence of its professional contacts and its associational involvements, detailed biographies of all faculty members, its class offerings, record keeping structures and a broad overview of its hopes, dreams, problems and intra-institutional relationships.

Visitors spend two to three days on a campus. They interview the chief executive of the university or college, the head of the division of which the journalism organization is a part, most journalism faculty members; professors in other departments who teach journalism students, two different groups of students. They visit labs and classes, inspect the school newspaper, examine facilities. And more. My experience has been that an alert team collects reliable and detailed insights into a journalism program and most of the concommitant relationships among staff members and between the journalism program and the rest of the institution of which it is a part. The administrator being visited usually concurs in most of the findings of the visitors and occasionally is surprised when the team turns up a situation of which he was unaware or hoped to conceal. This is not to say that a team cannot be deluded, misled or remain immune from what is known as the halo effect when guided by a dean who is also a good salesman.

The team prepares a written report and reads it to the journalism administrator. The team then reads and leaves a copy of the report with the president of the institution itself. There is no indication whether accreditation is or is not recommended. The team's report may be altered at the instigation of any member who develops second thoughts, if all members agree, and is reviewed again at annual meetings of the accrediting committee, which in turn makes "yes" or "no" recommendations to the ACEJ board itself.

In 1973 there are 61 schools with accredited sequences, including some with as many as six accredited sequences. For the past few years, an average of three new schools per year have sought initial accreditation, though more than that attempt to add sequences to those previously accredited. ACEJ must arrange 10 to 12 visits a year to keep up with initial applicants and re-accreditation requests, and until the recent slowdown in money flow to higher education it appeared new journalism programs were springing up everywhere. A time of expansion will return, though no one can guess when, to bring higher costs and greater burdens, probably demanding a fulltime, centralized staff for ACEJ with all the trappings such establishments usually involve.

Ten years ago ACEJ annual expenses were $16,000; in 1971-72 they were $25,000 and for 1973 are projected at $36,000. Travel costs, telephone costs, reproduction of reports, secretarial help all have increased. Demands for new accreditations, not to mention inflationary pressures, will continue to drive up costs. My personal impression, for what it's worth, is that ACEJ is economically managed.

A crisis of costs is likely. That particular crisis may not titillate those more disposed to worry about accreditation's philosophical issues, but it is basic, nevertheless.

The Schwartz (Jim) Committee of the AASDJ, has recommended a study of assessments against member institutions, warned against abuses and inequities and noted the difficulty of scaling assessments according to the number of sequences an institution may desire accredited. The committee urged that institutions benefiting most from accreditation carry the cost load, i.e., professional organizations and educational establishments.

If costs continue to rise, and they must, and government participation in accreditation expands, the U.S. taxpayer may pay the way eventually but this is not a solution to be desired.

* * *

UNCLE SAM'S WATCHING US

Before we enter the thicket of our internal patching and tinkering with journalism accreditation and self-evaluation, let us examine what our government is up to in this field, as its activities may well pre-empt our own, rendering our own intramural discussions moot.

The government has established its own accrediting supervisory agency in the Office of Education of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. The bureau's mission, attributed to a congressional mandate included in World War II veterans' benefit legislation, is to ride herd on the national gamut of accrediting agencies and committees. The U.S. Commission on Accreditation is increasingly into the game of educational values and judgments. I would argue that HEW has over-interpreted Congress' intentions.

Responding to an inquiry, its officials informed me that governmental aid related to journalism---research grants, veterans' tuition, construction, etc.---may not depend strictly upon the accreditation of journalism sequences if the institution of which journalism is a part is accredited by a recognized regional agency. But if a grant decision fell between an ACEJ accredited unit and one not so accredited, a certain prejudice for the former is conceded.

Obviously, this means that the ACEJ itself must be federally certified. Pressure on the ACEJ has magnified each year since federal interest in accreditation reawakened about 1968.

As then chairman of the Committee on Education in Journalism of the American Society of Newspaper Editors, I reported to the ASNE Board in 1969 my deepening concern about the government's involvement in all accreditation, but especially journalism.

I felt then, and do now, that the closer the government comes to directing or influencing the content of journalism teaching, the closer we are to violating the First Amendment of the Constitution. Vital political or philosophical issues may arise in other academic areas vis-a-vis governmental supervision of accreditation, but journalism owns its special constitutional and historical status as part of a separate estate in our society and that status must be zealously guarded.

The Office of Education began compiling a list of accrediting agencies and accredited institutions merely to assist other agencies in finding out what schools could claim bona fide existence and recognition by their peers. Then it established criteria for recognition of accrediting agencies. By 1970, it no longer accepted the generally recognized agencies acknowledged by reputable colleges and universities but indicated a broader interest beyond mere eligibility for funds. By 1971 it was "maximizing" public accountability; (a terrible word in its pernicious influence on young journalists) and by 1972 was stipulating anti-discrimination regulations, defining review and appeals processes and prescribing actual accreditation practices.

As its files expanded and accrediting agencies cozied up to the federal dollar, the Commission added more detail to its requirements. Others in accreditation began to manifest alarm, while conceding that there is, indeed, a high degree of public accountability implicit in accreditation.

Frank G. Dickey, executive director of the non-governmental National Commission on Accrediting, said in his 1973 report that accreditation is caught in a dilemma between its public responsibility and the government's attitude that all professional groups are basically self-serving.

He quoted Dr. Philip H. Abelson, president of the Carnegie Institution:

> "The history of the past decade has been marked especially with increased federal involvement in almost every facet of our lives. There are special dangers to society in the patterns that have been developing both in support of research and in support of higher education.
>
> "Shortly after World War II when the government began to support fundamental research many voices of warning were raised. The dangers of government control and interference were pointed out. Initially the granting agencies and Congress were extremely careful to avoid centralized control.
>
> "Today it is becoming increasingly clear that the man who pays the fiddler calls the tune."
>
> Mr. Dickey then said, "It is recognized that the federal government has a legitimate interest in nongovernmental accreditation because of the use of accreditation as a determiner of eligibility for federal funding; however, the growing involvement of federal agencies in the accrediting process is something which cannot be taken lightly..."

The National Association of State Universities and Land Grant Colleges (Circ. Letter No. 16, Oct. 17, 1972) quoted from a federal report on accreditation by Pennell, Proffitt and Hatch noting that the government's theme increasingly is that accreditation organizations are incapable of reforming themselves and that reform must be imposed upon them. Presumably, broader involvement by federal and state agencies---another group of overseers spurred to accreditation-like procedures by federal higher education legislation ---will make accreditation more socially responsible.

One way or the other, accreditation means peer recognition where journalism is concerned. Thus, the government should satisfy itself only that properly representative peer groups exist, that they are diligently and democratically operated and that their standards are generally accepted among responsible and reputable institutions who themselves aspire to the recognition. If the government were to go beyond that we may have the government suggesting, approving and even offering actual course content and determining substantively what is implanted in the minds of the students. If control reached such a point, journalism would be better off without accreditation and without the government funds carrot that has already enticed us to this point on the road to federal involvement. If Congress permits direct accreditation regulations, as opposed to the Bureau's present procedural thrust, look out. Mr. Dickey said, in 1971, "Philosophically, accrediting agencies in general espouse their public trust function and largely because of this role society has allowed these agencies to operate. But today's society is increasingly looking behind facades to ferret out special interests. And accreditation has its special interests."

As citizens, we all feel a public responsibility and we all want to be socially useful, in our own time and our own way. But government is not the only protector of the public trust. Journalism itself may lay as valid a claim to that role.

GENERAL ACCREDITATION PROBLEMS AND THE ACEJ

We are moving now, I say to keep myself organized and you informed of the intended progression of the content herein, into the area of general accreditation problems, and those especially applicable to journalism and the ACEJ.

My friends in academe glory in debating the details of the specific act of accreditation itself, but we must, perforce, view those in the perspective of the larger theme, just as we would understand love before we approach copulation.

Can accreditation reform itself, if it needs reforming? Can the ACEJ, if it should and must, reform itself?

Back in 1971, Mr. Dickey of the NCA spoke of the effect of broad social change on higher education and of the ferment in the area of accreditation. He said, "The intensity of the call for change has not reached the crisis and controversial level..." This "lag," he said, offers an opportunity for study and for responsible leadership to develop responses to social pressures in an atmosphere of calm.

It is true, I think, that a crisis is not upon us. Accreditation itself pursues a leisurely pace. Nonetheless, the mood has heightened since 1971.

The Newman "Report on Higher Education" in 1972 said, in part, "In the name of protecting the standards of education, regional and specialized accrediting organizations (that's us) pressure new institutions to develop faculties, buildings and educational requirements on the patterns of established conventional colleges and universities. Moreover, these organizations, dominated by the guilds of each discipline, determine the eligibility of these new institutions for public support."

ACEJ can plead not guilty to that total indictment. It has tried ineffectually, for it has no weapons other than its ability to withhold accreditation, to stop the proliferation of new journalism programs and to encourage consolidation of those advanced programs that require unusual resources and a regional student supply pool to attain acceptable levels of diversity in course offerings and quality in teaching and facilities.

The indictment does suggest, however, that an accrediting agency is a closed shop. The ACEJ may mitigate its guildship through the variety of journalism practitioners involved in its activities but they, too, cannot help being drawn into the club eventually if for no other reason than that the whole process is too detailed and complicated to be breezily explained to colleagues at an editors' convention or a city room bull session. Once indoctrinated, an accreditor seems able to discuss accreditation only with other accreditors.

It has been suggested that public representatives be invited to serve on accrediting agency boards. I would not object to such a representative, or even two or three, on the ACEJ board. I think he, or they, would be bored out of his gourd, but a selection method certainly could be devised and thus public participation broadened.

As to a capacity for self-reformation, the record so far speaks well. The ACEJ has responded without antagonism and in no wise defensively to its critics and to proposals for improvements. It codified its formerly unstructured appeals and review process, changed its procedure of presenting visiting team reports to school administrators and their chiefs, engaged in an animated inter-committee dialogue with the AASDJ, adjusted to a series of bureaucratic impositions by the federal accreditation review bureau (HEW) and was willing to examine and re-examine its processes and findings concerning a major university's total revamping of its journalism program. It upheld its own negative conclusion in that case, however.

Conferences and reports examining the process of accreditation continue unabated. This very meeting indicates a willingness on the part of professionals and educators to dissect and possibly restructure their own creature.

The ACEJ is exposed to members from its constituent organizations. The most active of these in ACEJ's field of interest come from the colleges and universities themselves and can make themselves heard through their home institutions and through their associations. They are not stopped from reaching the ACEJ ear c their own cognizance and, in journalism, always have the route, though they may consider it only in extremis, of "going public," through the press, professional publications or association bulletins and platforms.

Consequently, the accreditation process is always in informal review and evaluation. Professional association committees maintain perpetual overview methods as well as standards. The ACEJ itself does so, as well.

There have been suggestions recently that ACEJ, using professional evaluators, study itself, in every aspect. Such a study should prove useful and could provide a model for a continuing study of standards and criteria for accreditation but could as easily and effectively be handled internally. I should be wary of excessively detailed criteria; we must not over-standardize something that should have elements of art and skill in it lest we increase the levelling and similarity among all schools and sequences. Homogeneity through journalism education is not desirable. Each institution should be free to develop its own personality and range of service.

If a more deliberate appraisal routine is desired a broadly representative committee of ACEJ, with a number of members appointed by constituent organizations without the advice or consent of ACEJ, could maintain a continuing evaluation of methods and standards in accreditation and report annually to the ACEJ board, which should make public the recommendations and its response to them.

ACEJ publishes in its annual pamphlet listing accredited sequences its standards for accreditation. Some critics have complained that the standards are too broadly stated. They claim also not to see what it is the standards and other accreditation criteria specifically require of them. It seems to me that implicit in the ACEJ standards are the reasons why the standards exist, but I would have no objection to explaining them. (For example, "The reason ACEJ wants to know the academic backgrounds of your faculty is....etc.")

The trend in general society today toward excessive legalisms has not left ACEJ unscathed. The federal agency demanded a written appeals procedure and ACEJ wrote one. Assorted study committees, including the AASDJ's, seem to be insisting on greater specificity in standards and what could amount to a detailed codification of accrediting methods. This trend can go too far. It could burden the process with nitpicking. Neither in accreditation nor in appeals procedures is it desirable to open the door to protracted litigation. Sequences of dubious merit, or even marginal acceptability, should not be offered technical loopholes through which to threaten ACEJ with costly and wasteful defenses of its rulings.

AN ARRAY OF CONTENTIONS

We have seen that the process of accreditation must become almost judicial in nature, offering appeals and review procedures. It must define and justify its objectives, train its visiting teams to understand every standard, judgment and rating it promulgates. It must train its accrediting committee and indeed its top policy board, to do the same. We have seen that due process is involved, proper public representation, evidence of a total absence of racial, sexual, regional or ethnic discrimination; and encouragement of innovation. We have seen that procedures and standards must be presented so elementally that even a college administrator can understand them.

Preparing this paper, I frequently felt like a member of the committee on by-laws of some particularly litigious fraternity who must resign himself to attending meetings accompanied by a parliamentarian and writing the minutes with the help of a Philadelphia lawyer.

There has been recently an exchange of reports between the Jim Schwartz (Iowa State University) Committee of the AASDJ and a committee of the ACEJ headed by Dean Warren Agee of the University of Georgia. Extensive correspondence was followed by the ACEJ accrediting committee meeting in San Francisco March 17, 1973 coincidentally attended by representatives of both committees. There they agreed their disagreements weren't as extensive as they had first believed. To examine each point in detail would require far more space than I have available, so let us plunge into the risky field of summary and condensation on the major issues:

FINANCING: A separate AASDJ committee is working on this, and its recommendations will be welcomed. One solution may be an annual fee per sequence, plus a small charge per student per sequence seeking accreditation.

ELIGIBILITY FOR ACCREDITATION: There is general concurrence that clearer eligibility standards are needed and that a modest fee be charged to see that a sequence is ready for a full evaluation. This step could save time and money because some schools actually request visits without having met the most elementary requirements. An eligibility punchlist might prevent such futility.

A PRELIMINARY SELF-STUDY: A self-study could follow essentially the same form now used in many universities, and even in public school systems, for continuing evaluation and so enable a program to test its own readiness for a visit. ACEJ's basic criteria could be arranged in a questionnaire form and augmented, if the school wished, by consultations with regional advisors trained in periodic ACEJ workshops or seminars; or the school could employ an independent consultant.

THE PRE-VISIT REPORT: The pre-visit report needs to be simplified and shortened. Better forms showing the data needed and how to present them would help visitors. The report could be arranged to operate almost as a culmination of a pre-visit self-study effort or of the program's continuing self-study mechanism. AASDJ has prepared a chart showing schematically a procedure for clarifying the gathering and assessment of data. It is attached as Appendix II. There are two omissions: community and national affairs as related to and affected by information flow, in the curriculum field; and admission standards which I think should be at or above requirements for admission to other senior college disciplines on a given campus. I have appended a "Meyer criteria" list, as well. (Appendix I).

PERFORMANCE TESTING: This deals principally with the quality of graduates. The AASDJ Committee suggested "performance testing," but the ACEJ group didn't think this a feasible process and recommended simply better reporting by schools on graduates' professional status. A program should know where its graduates are and what they are doing but it seems impractical to call graduates in for comprehensive testing. Now,however, a school merely lists its alumni stars in its pre-visit report and hopes the visitors will believe the accounting to be representative.

VALIDATION: There is a need to clarify procedures and definitions in gathering data by which to evaluate both school and sequence quality. In articulating its criteria, however, the ACEJ should avoid a degree of specificity that might eliminate subjectivity in evaluation and/or imagination in educational pioneering. We want to encourage training of better journalists who will be practicing an art form. We do not want definitions that suggest ACEJ pressures in either a "trade school" or a "theoretical school" direction.

THE VISIT: QUESTIONING STUDENTS: The Schwartz committee felt the usual two visiting team sessions with students inefficient and of doubtful merit. ACEJ responded that written questionnaires might be used to standardize student interviews from school to school. I have found conversations with students most revealing, though I concede that student views are highly subjective. Nevertheless, since administrators may select their better students for the interviews, it reveals something of a program when students are discovered to have little knowledge of the major issues concerning the media, or when they feel their own program is not fulfilling or when they unload their impressions on how they and others on campus regard the journalism programs. Visitors are experienced teachers and reporters themselves and can be trusted to weight judiciously what they hear from undergraduates.

THE VISIT: VISITING CLASSES: Evaluating instruction by visiting classes is ephemeral and subjective and the visitors are so cautioned. A good actor may come off well and a true plugger may appear uninspiring. Nevertheless, the experience gives visitors a "feel" of teaching techniques in a given program and pointed questions of a teacher's peers and students help evaluation of classroom importance. In my own experience only when rare extremes of excellence on one hand or total disorganization on the other are confronted do visitors give classroom observations much weight on their scales.

THE VISIT: BRIEFINGS AND COMMUNICATIONS: There should be better and more consistent ways to deal with such matters as the difference between school and sequence criteria, better student attendance at meetings with visitors.

SEQUENCE VS. TOTAL SCHOOL ACCREDITATION: The AASDJ Committee recommended procedures that could evaluate the school and the sequence, rather than the sequence alone. The report implied strongly that accreditation emphasis should be transferred from sequence to school. Both are now considered, although the sequence gets the official designation. Obviously a disordered school with poor administrative operations, bad employment practices, poor relations with its peers, etc., will fail to provide an umbrella of quality over its sequences. ACEJ's committee clearly favored retaining the present sequence designations but agreed to a re-study of the process. ACEJ feared that a school with one accredited sequence might spin off others of dubious quality and thereby transfer to them an undeserved legitimacy of accreditation. The AASDJ report noted that people continue to think schools are accredited rather than sequences. That may be true, but I would rather try to change what they think than change the system. Of course, basic newswriting or reporting courses, press law and communications in society courses should be common to all sequences. In advanced areas, however, procedures and subject matter are sufficiently varied to justify sequences. The alternative would be to compel accreditable sequences through a school's total offerings and certify none unless all qualify. I would find that an acceptable procedure in that it might discourage a school's expanding into additional sequences when unprepared to do so. Yet I wonder if a radio-TV sequence is as different from a print journalism sequence as, say, mechanical engineering is from electrical.

INITIAL VS. REACCREDITATION PROCEDURES: Different procedures and standards for initial accrediting and reaccrediting have been suggested. The six year interval between initial re-accreditation allows many changes to take place and, if anything, the re-accreditation should be more stringent than an initial accreditation. However, the ACEJ committee did recommend to its board a one-year probationary term for a previously accredited program newly found unaccreditable, with provision for a return visit by a team chairman to see that deficiencies had been corrected. The proposed one year probation scheme has not received ACEJ support in the past, but ACEJ now entertains the possibility of using the period to encourage innovation and to gather additional data, prior to removing the accreditation of previously approved sequence.

CORRECTION OF REPORT ERRORS: Clearer procedures for on-site and post-visit correction of errors and inaccuracies in the visit report and a fairer process of appeal were urged in the AASDJ study. ACEJ concurred that copies of the team report should be given the journalism administrator and the university president at the conclusion of the visit; that errors of factual information should be corrected in a report sent immediately to the institution's president and the secretary of the ACEJ accrediting committee; that errors of fact be corrected and all involved notified; that if the errors are sufficient to alter the team's recommendations the chairman will poll his team about possible changes in that recommendation; that the school will be informed specifically that it may respond to the report, over and above the correction of factual error, if it wishes to do so prior to the ACEJ accrediting committee meeting; and that if the school wishes to dispute the ACEJ decision an appeals procedure is available.

OTHER MAJOR CONCERNS

While I appreciate the importance of these procedural and policy matters, they come through somewhat as tinkering with the present system rather than truly reforming it. They deal only peripherally with discovering ways to quantify teaching effectiveness and raising the quality of course content.

When these problems internal to the accreditation process are near resolution, accreditation must recognize its involvement in at least three other major problems, one of its own making.

One concerns the proliferation of journalism schools and vastly increased enrollments in existing ones. A toughening of accreditation standards would send a message to marginal institutions that create journalism sequences in order to organize a staff for a student paper or enlist cheap help in the school's public relations office. Amending standards and raising the general level of senior college course content would help students understand the advantages of accreditation and tend to demonstrate quality differences among various schools.

While no precise statistics are available, educators agree that more students are enrolling in journalism as a general liberal arts course and not because they intend to pursue careers in the field. This situation is a kind of recognition for journalism as a trainer of generalists who seek a broad and diversified background with a vocational tag that helps in the job market, journalistic or otherwise.

No accreditation standard can preclude such students from enrolling in journalism sequences if they wish to do so, but a general elevation in the level of course content and difficulty, with more specific professional training might discourage the outriders and thereby allow for more attention to the serious professionally oriented student.

Accreditation standards can demand that students demonstrate an aptitude for writing, an interest in public affairs and an eagerness to read before being admitted as majors to a journalism sequence in their junior year of college. Since students without such aptitude hold back the remainder, I would not oppose psychological testing of applicants at the upper class entry level who show no record of interest in journalism or related matters and no particular excellence in previous English or composition courses.

* * *

The problem at least partly of our own making has to do with the accreditation requirement that no more than 25 per cent of a student's total four-year credits may be in journalism. One recent study found that at 24 schools the news-editorial sequences graduated students who seemed to have paid no attention whatever to the 25-75 per cent course ratio stipulation. In several other accredited sequences, that report noted a majority of transcripts showing a journalism course percentage above 30.

This requirement seems to be outdated and restrictive, a throwback to the days when journalism schools were considered strictly vocational and students were compelled to take courses elsewhere in order to acquire a "broad, liberal arts background." Journalism schools these days offer courses with general academic content perhaps related to communications but certainly not exclusively journalistic and positively not "vocational" in nature. Many such courses are taught by qualified sociologists, historians, political scientists, statisticians or economists and may be more relevant for the student, even more scholarly, than unrelated courses taught in other departments. The ratio requirement stands in the way, moreover, of developing additional courses dealing with problems in our society as they involve journalism. It also tends to force students into a general array of introductory courses in a scattering of other disciplines when the student would benefit more from advanced material in his own major subject.

* * *

The third inescapable problem has to do with junior colleges. Mort Stern of the Denver Post and the ASNE Committee on Education in Journalism reported that 600, or 55 per cent, of the nation's 1,100 junior colleges offer journalism as an academic subject.

We will not deal here with the student who regards his junior college training as "terminal." The crunch on accreditation comes with those students who go on to further training, and the consensus among educators is that more serious students do.

A youngster who has taken five or six journalism courses in junior college cannot take more than another three or four in a senior program without exceeding the aforementioned 25-75 ratio. The senior college, then, finds itself trying to maintain sequences in which transfer students have minimal exposure to its program. ACEJ risks placing its imprimatur on the senior college when it knows full well many students, the more the worse, received the majority of their training in courses beyond its scope and jurisdiction.

Since this problem will not go away but will be exacerbated as more junior colleges add journalism courses and student newspaper advisors, it should be confronted. State senior universities, especially, are concerned since many are required by law to accept the products of their state's junior colleges.

In August 1972 the Junior College Journalism Association met with representatives of the Association for Education in Journalism (AEJ) the professorial association of the senior colleges. There was an attempt to thrash out a method of setting standards for junior college courses and establishing criteria for the transfer of credits.

The guidelines, much abbreviated, call for master's level instructors with an undergraduate journalism training and "encouragement" to possess at least six months professional experience. Seeking a maximum of 12 credit hours transferability, the guidelines identify courses that could be taught at the junior college level. Standards for facilities and resources are described, including a publication outlet for students. Many junior colleges, following the unfortunate lead of some of their senior colleagues, include credit hours for student publications work, a further complication. In any event, the broad standards open the way for what the junior colleges call "articulation," which is to say some negotiated prior agreement with regional or state senior institutions on what course credits will be accepted by them.

The junior colleges seek "consultant committees" to check their programs against the JCJA guidelines, which themselves are unenforceable. Final determination of the acceptability of junior college credits probably will rest with the major regional or state senior college departments in the geographic proximity of the junior college. Who will define and see to the administration of such an undertaking is unknown. There have been no volunteers, but the JCJA is pushing.

Some sort of national guide or standard seems mandated. The junior colleges are worried about their students' credit transfers, but the senior colleges are concerned about their total standards. Furthermore, a senior college cannot make its own special accommodation with its neighborhood junior college independent of its peers throughout the entire country.

The senior colleges should study at least two possible ways to ameliorate the junior college problem:

1---Modify the 25-75 journalism-to-other-courses ratio so that the typical three introductory or beginning level courses are not counted against the 25 per cent journalism course restriction. The senior college would have to decide whether a junior college transfer student would be compelled to repeat these courses. The college could make the courses prerequisites for non-transfers seeking advanced work. I realize senior colleges feel their introductory courses are strong and plant the basis for their advanced programs. But the senior colleges would not be giving up the requirement, nor the opportunity for remedial work with transfer students; only the technical tabulation of the courses as "journalism."

2---Many accredited schools already permit capable sophomores, and in a few instances freshmen, to enroll in introductory journalism department courses. The opportunity could be broadened to include all non-transfer students in lower college classes. By removing the lid on the number of journalism courses permitted a student over his full four year program, serious career-oriented students could take a wider variety of upper level journalism courses, cross over sequence lines and so diversify their training and, perhaps, be prepared for a greater intensity of training and more advanced material than is generally offered them today at the upper class level.

* * *

Our common objective in the education of journalists is better journalists, more intensely and yet more broadly trained than yesterday's. So it is important to us not what departmental label is affixed to a course, but what the student learns in his exposure to it.

Editors who have even a passing association with senior college journalism education think it worthy, important and productive. I share that view. Whatever the faults of journalism education---including those in the accreditation process---I would like to see the aspiring journalist spend more time and hours in the J-School on advanced work, and that intensified, rather than in Mickey Mouse core courses scattered through the other catalogues.

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APPENDIX I

Major elements in evaluation and accredition (the Meyer criteria)

Teaching program:

Total program meets promised objectives

Proper mix of academic and professional background among faculty

Course content fulfills catalogue commitments

Proper labs complement classroom lectures

Suitable learning environment provided

Administration adequately supports program

Faculty, students, outside professionals participate in curriculum preparation and review

Institution's administration and other faculties regard program as academically sound

Counseling available readily, knowledgeably pursued

Students feel academically challenged, regard journalism at least as demanding on their energy as other courses

Students have frequent opportunity to see work in print, or to broadcast or televize efforts

Campus newspaper preferably not a journalism program function and absolutely not the dominant laboratory for classroom assignments

Ample budget and program for keeping faculty up to date

Satisfactory faculty emphasis on scholarship, research, publishing

Careful selection of other courses on campus for journalism majors and proper use of total institutional resources

Faculty-student ratio 15-1 or less except lecture only classes

Consistent use of professional visitors, editor in residence programs and the like

Core course in mass communications-information flow available to total universitv student body

Administration:

Adequate clerical support for administrator and faculty

Routine reviews of program quality and teacher performance

Regular, planned faculty meetings with broad participation in departmental policies

Adequate student and alumni records

Frequent communications with university administration, including regular conferences with other disciplines and chancellor or president as the case may be

Adequate support services in purchasing, library services, budgeting and planning

Adequate budget for faculty travel and participation in professional organizations and industry activities

Long range planning capability

Good morale, dedication throughout to school's stated mission

Active alumni relations program and an endowment fund under sole discretion of journalism program where permitted

Facilities:

Adequate lab equipment for editing, writing, photo

Building facilities convenient and in a consolidated area

Adequate reading room with subscriptions to representative newspapers and other periodicals

Good central library service

Knowledge of and reasonable student access to special equipment in other areas of university, such as computers, printing equipment, graphics resources, etc.

Adequate office and filing space for each faculty member with privacy for counseling

Space and furniture provided for informal student gatherings, relaxed seminars, discussions with professional visitors, etc.

(Suggestions and additions welcomed)

Proposition #15 APPENDIX II

ANPA Journalism Education Conference

Summary of principal recommendations:

1. Achieve operative definition of mission on the part of each journalism education program
2. Increase awareness of the threat of government involvement in journalism education
3. Develop a format for continuing study of self-evaluation as well as accrediting process
4. Add public representatives to accrediting policy councils
5. Establish routine communications with journalism related industries and schools on evaluation and accrediting procedures, possibly through professional associations
6. Develop a more specific definition of standards
7. Clarify appeals procedure
8. Prepare a self-study guide and punchlist applicable to a variety of school programs and organizations
9. Improve accreditation pre-visit report forms
10. Insist schools establish more complete records on their graduates' achievements
11. Develop standardized and improved briefing materials for accreditation visitors
12. Continue accrediting emphasis on sequences, but also continue to include high standards for basic school operation
13. Recognize as a priority the need for basic reforms in accreditation requirements and in curricula to accommodate to junior college journalism credit transfer pressures
14. Develop tougher standards for upper level training to reduce enrollment of students who do not intend to pursue journalism careers
15. Change the 25-75 per cent journalism credit limitation
16. Place all introductory level classes---the three commonly designated such courses---in the freshman and sophomore years and eliminate them from the 25-75 ratio requirement if the requirement is not broadened
17. Avoid mitigating true and needed reforms by emphasis exclusively on procedural tinkering

Proposition #15 APPENDIX III--copied from the Schwartz Committee Report(AASDJ)

	Standards	
Category	School	Sequence
Objectives	To provide an environment that will encourage students to: 1. Learn and refine the skills and techniques of their craft. 2. Develop a philosophical/ethical framework for professional careers. 3. Broaden their knowledge of the mass media industry -- its structure, strengths, weaknesses, effects.	
Curriculum	Instruction and/or practice in: 1. Theories of communication and mass communication. 2. Reporting, writing, and editing under supervised laboratory conditions. 3. Information identification, analysis and assessment. 4. History, law and ethics of journalism and mass communication. Overall program plan that includes two minors or areas of concentration requirements of institution. Mechanism for study of contemporary problems in journalism and mass communication.	For each sequence, a supervisor whose academic and professional background is related directly to that sequence. Instruction for: 1. News-editorial -- Advanced reporting, writing, editing experiences 2. Advertising -- principles, copy preparation,campaigns, media and marketing courses. 3. Radio-Television -- Production, broadcast news, management, FCC regulations courses. 4. Public Relations -- Principles case studies, advanced writing and editing courses. Practicum or internship option early and late in students program.
Facilities	Library reading room resources either in school, main library or both. Equipment for laboratory instruction in reporting, writing, editing.	Library resources related to sequence programs. Specialized equipment and/or laboratories for sequence programs.
Faculty	Faculty, considered in total, having advanced academic preparation, professional experience, and research capability.	Academic preparation and professional experience unique to sequence area.

tudents	Academic performance at least equal to norms for institution.	
		Professional performance of former students. An average of five students in sequence over last 3 years. At least 5 students in sequence over last academic year.
rocedures	Control of class size, teaching loads Ratio of students to faculty in laboratory and performance courses, 15 to 1 Ratio of non-journalism to journalism courses, 3 to 1 Academic advising within the journalism unit Budget support commensurate with practice throughout the institution Placement service Faculty-student participation in policy making, governance Teacher and course evaluation mechanisms Current academic records for journalism unit's majors Specified degree requirements	
ervice	Relations with media and professionals through short courses, workshops, seminars, and similar continuing education services. Relations with alumni through a periodic newsletter or other means.	

(Note: I have included this chart informatively. It is useful in providing considerable information in little space, but is intended as a stimulant to discussion and not as a recommendation of the author. SM)

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Research Papers Prepared for the Conference

Well in advance of the conference it became clear to the planning committee that more information about some of the topics covered in the conference papers was needed. For example, knowing what courses the schools of journalism were offering students on newspaper economics and management would illuminate the paper on newspaper economics. To obtain such information the committee asked ANPA Foundation to commission several research studies, the findings of which would be helpful to both the paper authors and participants. Dr. Galen R. Rarick, professor of journalism at Ohio State University and Director, ANPA News Research Center, was asked to supervise the necessary studies. Three topic areas were chosen:

(1) an analysis of the non-journalism course work taken by recent journalism graduates

(2) current offerings at accredited schools and departments of journalism in six subjects, all of them topics for conference papers: non-verbal communication, research methods for working journalists, media economics and management, anatomy of the urban community, major issues in contemporary society, new technology

(3) the journalistic and academic backgrounds of the teachers of skills courses in journalism schools

These studies were subsequently completed and are included in this compilation. Professor Baskett Mosse, professor of journalism at Northwestern University and executive secretary of the Accrediting Committee of the American Council on Education for Journalism, and Professor Erik L. Collins of the School of Journalism at Ohio State University cooperated with Dr. Rarick in the preparation of these studies.

AN ANALYSIS OF THE AMOUNT OF NON-JOURNALISM COURSE WORK TAKEN BY 200 RECENT NEWS-EDITORIAL GRADUATES OF 40 PROGRAMS ACCREDITED BY THE AMERICAN COUNCIL ON EDUCATION FOR JOURNALISM

Information in this study was prepared by Baskett Mosse, professor of journalism at Northwestern University and executive secretary of the Accrediting Committee of the American Council on Education for Journalism. The study was commissioned by the American Newspaper Publishers Association Foundation for the Conference on "Education for Newpaper Journalists in the Seventies and Beyond," to be held in Reston, Virginia, October 31, November 1 & 2. Only schools for which ACEJ has complete records for a sample of graduates were included.

Graduates of accredited journalism and communications programs who intend to become reporters, writers and editors in the mass media achieve substantial depth in academic subjects[1] in addition to professional courses during their four years of undergraduate study.

An analysis of 200 official transcripts of recent news-editorial graduates at 40 of the 62 universities with accredited programs shows that 91% of them earned 15 semester hours[2] or more in at least one discipline in addition to journalism.

As shown in Table 1, 29.5% of the graduates earned 25 or more semester hours (roughly the equivalent of a major) in at least one discipline other than journalism. Another 34.5% of the graduates earned 20 to 24 semester hours in such a discipline, and 27% earned 15 to 19 hours (roughly the minimum requirement for a minor).

In all, 42.0% of the graduates earned 15 or more semester hours in at least two subjects other than journalism.

In a related study (see Tables 2 and 3), counting only traditional liberal arts and science subjects, the records of the same 200 graduates showed that the median graduate took 66% of his total four-year program in liberal arts and science courses and 25% in journalism and communications.[3] (The remaining 9% of the median graduate's work was in courses that are neither journalism nor the traditional arts and sciences, such as physical education, military science, marketing, music performance, etc.)

Percentages of the total program in traditional arts and sciences ranged from a low of 41% to a high of 83%. In journalism and communications courses, the range was 14% to 46%.

That news-editorial journalism graduates get considerable academic breadth into their programs is also shown by the fact that 78% of those in the sample earned 60% or more of their total credit hours in traditional arts and sciences courses. Furthermore, 84% of the graduates earned 29% or less of their total credit hours in journalism and communication courses.

The study was made by examining the official transcripts of five news-editorial graduates for a recent year at each of the 40 schools. The five graduates were selected randomly from an alphabetical listing. Only those schools or departments for which ACEJ has complete records for a sample of graduates were included.

The transcripts are part of the confidential file maintained by ACEJ on all schools with accredited programs. Contents of an individual transcript are never identified or revealed outside of the confidential accrediting process.

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[1] The study covered all subjects taken for undergraduate credit. Only a few records showed that students took course concentrations in other than the traditional liberal arts and science subjects as listed under Table 2.

[2] All credit was converted to semester hours. From 120 to 124 semester hours are required for graduation at most schools.

[3] From the ACEJ policy statement on minimum standards for accreditation: "ACEJ suggests about one-fourth/three-fourths as an equitable ratio between courses in journalism and communications and courses in arts and sciences."

TABLE 1 - Distribution of Journalism Graduates by Number of Semester Hours of Credit Earned in at Least One Discipline* Other than Journalism (N=200)

Maximum number of semester hours in any single discipline other than journalism	No. of Students	% of Students
Fewer than 15	18	9.0
15 - 19	54	27.0**
20 - 24	69	34.5***
25 or more	59	29.5****
TOTALS	200	100.0

* All disciplines other than journalism (and communication) were included in this tabulation, not just the traditional arts and sciences.

** One graduate earned 15 to 19 semester hours of credit in four disciplines other than journalism, another one earned 15 to 19 hours in three non-journalism subjects, and an additional 16.0% of the graduates earned that many credits in two such disciplines. Furthermore, 7.5% of the graduates earned 15 to 19 hours in two non-journalism disciplines and 20 or more hours in a third one.

*** 3.0% of the graduates earned 20 to 24 semester hours of credit in two disciplines in addition to journalism.

**** The number of semester hours of credit earned in a second discipline ranged as high as 45, and 1.5% of the graduates earned 25 or more hours in two disciplines in addition to journalism.

TABLE 2 - Distribution of Journalism Graduates by Percentage of Total Undergraduate Program Taken in Liberal Arts and Sciences*
(N=200)

%** of Total Program Constituted by Liberal Arts and Sciences		No. of Students	% of Students
40 - 49		5	2.5
50 - 59		39	19.5
60 - 69		86	43.0
70 - 79		67	33.5
80 - 89		3	1.5
	TOTALS	200	100.0

* Only the following disciplines or their equivalents were counted in this tabulation: History, Political Science, Sociology, Anthropology, Economics, Geography (Social/Cultural), Social Science, Psychology, English and Literature, Philosophy, Religion, Humanities, Art History and Interpretation, and Music Appreciation (not skills).

**The range was from a low of 41% to a high of 83%. The median was 66%.

TABLE 3 - Distribution of Journalism Graduates by Percentage of Total Undergraduate Program Taken in Journalism or Communications Courses (N=200)

%* of Total Program Constituted by Journalism and Communications Courses	No. of Students	% of Students
10 - 19	8	4.0
20 - 29	160	80.0
30 - 39	28	14.0
40 - 49	4	2.0
TOTALS	200	100.0

* The range was from a low of 14% to a high of 46%. The median was 25%.

CURRENT OFFERINGS IN SIX SPECIFIED SUBJECTS
IN ACCREDITED (and the largest unaccredited)
SCHOOLS AND DEPARTMENTS OF JOURNALISM

This survey was conducted for the Conference on "Education for Newspaper Journalists in the Seventies and Beyond," sponsored by the American Newspaper Publishers Association Foundation in cooperation with the Association for Education in Journalism, to be held at Reston, Virginia, October 31 - November 2, 1973.

By Erik L. Collins
and
Galen R. Rarick

School of Journalism
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Among the propositions to be discussed at this conference are six suggesting that certain specific kinds of courses should be included in the journalism curriculum. Consequently, this survey was conducted to determine the extent of such offerings in the accredited and largest unaccredited journalism programs in the United States.

In May of 1973, a questionnaire was sent to the administrative heads of the 61 schools and departments which were accredited by the American Council on Education for Journalism for the 1972-73 academic year. The questionnaire was also sent to the administrative heads of the 10 unaccredited schools and departments which had the largest enrollments of journalism majors as reported in the Journalism Educator of January, 1973.

Two mailings and some telephone calls produced responses from 52 (85%) of the accredited programs and nine (90%) of the 10 largest unaccredited programs. The response rate for the two groups combined is 86%. Since no meaningful differences between the two groups were observed, the data were pooled for the analysis that follows.

Because responses were obtained from almost all members of the universe as defined for this study (all accredited journalism programs and the 10 largest unaccredited ones), the data are subject to very little sampling error. The findings cannot necessarily be applied, however, to smaller unaccredited journalism programs.

Non-Verbal Communication

Proposition 2 holds that journalism schools should offer a course in non-verbal communication. Although 27 respondents said their schools offer such a course, five of them apparently confused "non-verbal" with "non-oral." They listed such courses as news writing and editing and in a couple of cases added comments such as "none of our courses deals primarily with speaking." In other words, 22 (see Table 1) of the respondents (36%) listed courses which appeared to be concerned essentially with non-verbal communication. Ten of these, however, appeared more likely to be the traditional photojournalism course than the broader kind of non-verbal communication course that is advocated in Proposition 2.* The titles or descriptions of only eight of the courses clearly indicated that they were general non-verbal communication classes.

As shown in Table 2, 46% of the 22 departments offering what they consider to be a non-verbal communication course require it of journalism majors, while it is strictly an elective in 40%. In the other 14% of the schools, the course is elective for some students and required for others. For example, it may be required of students in one sequence but elective for those in other sequences. Or it may be required of undergraduates but is elective for graduates.

In about half of the schools, the course is open to both undergraduate and graduate students, while in most of the others it is open only to undergraduates. In only one school is the course open only to graduate students.

The non-verbal communication courses tend to be rather new. Almost two-thirds of them were first offered in 1960 or more recently. Close to a fifth of them were first offered in 1949 or earlier, but all of these appear to be rather traditional photojournalism courses.

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* One respondent listed a course titled "Press Photography" and then wrote: "Is this what you mean? We don't teach go-go dancing."

About two-thirds of the schools offer the course in two or more academic terms** during a calendar year, and collective enrollment is large. Since the course is required of all journalism majors in about half the schools, it is not surprising that half the schools report that it is taken by 100 or more students during a typical calendar year.

Research Methods for Working Journalists

Proposition 3 contends that journalism students should take a course in research methods that is geared to the work of reporters and editors rather than being a research methods course that is aimed at the study of communication processes and behavior in general.

Approximately 61% of the respondents said they offer such a course, but as shown in Table 3, the titles or descriptions of not quite half of these courses indicate clearly that such is the case. The other half appear to be courses of the more general communication research type, but which the respondent considers to be readily applicable to the working journalist's world. (In fact, one respondent who said the school does not offer a course pointed specifically at the working journalist's needs wrote: "Our basic research methods course is designed to give students an understanding of communication research methods which can be applied on the business side, in editorial decision-making, in subsequent graduate study, etc. It is not primarily devoted to research by working journalists--reporters, deskmen, etc. Even so, the student who takes the course and becomes a working journalist will understand such research, why it is done, how it is done, etc.)

There is a tendency for the research methods course to be required of all journalism majors at the graduate level, but not at the undergraduate level. In fact, the course is open to only graduate students at half the schools.

The research courses are generally recent curricular additions, with two-thirds of them offered for the first time in 1960 or later. Only 5% of them originated before 1950.

Since enrollment is often limited to graduate students, it is not surprising that the number of students taking these courses tends to be small. Fewer than 50 students take the course in a full calendar year at four-fifths of the schools offering it.

The modal frequency of offering the course is once or twice in each calendar year.

Media Economics and Management

Some 62% of the respondents said they offer a course in media economics and management as advocated in Proposition 8. The titles or descriptions of almost all of these courses, as shown in Table 4, clearly indicated that such is the case.

** In this study, "academic term" refers to whatever calendar unit the respondent's school employs: quarter, semester, trimester, etc.

An elective in almost all cases, the course is open to both undergraduate and graduate students in two-thirds of the schools. In all but one of the others, it is required of only certain students.

Even though it was put into the curriculum in the 1950's or 1960's at two-thirds of the schools, the course still draws comparatively small enrollments. In a calendar year, it is taken by fewer than 50 students at 84% of the schools, where it is commonly offered just once a year.

Anatomy of the Urban Community

Only 10 (16%) of the respondents said they offer a course devoted primarily to the study of contemporary urban society as advocated in Proposition 10. The titles or descriptions of seven of these courses supported the claim.

The modal characteristics of these courses, as shown in Table 5, are as follows:

Open to both undergraduate and graduate students, the elective course was put into the curriculum in the 1970's. Offered once a year, it has an enrollment of fewer than 50 students.

Quite a few of the respondents who said they offer no such course pointed out that such study is available in other departments on campus and that journalism students are often encouraged to enroll.

Major Issues in Contemporary Society

Proposition 11 contends that journalism schools or departments should offer a course examining major issues in contemporary society. Such was reported to be the case at 67% of the responding schools. In only half of these cases, however, did the title or description clearly indicate that the course had such content.

Table 6 shows that the course is most often an elective (59%) but is required of all journalism students at nearly a third of the schools. Usually open to both graduate and undergraduate students, the contemporary issues course is most likely to have been added to the curriculum in 1960 or later.

The frequency of offering the course varies greatly among the schools, ranging from not at all to four terms in the typical calendar year. The overwhelming majority of schools, however, offer it one to three terms a year. Enrollment also varies greatly, with 15% of the schools reporting that the course is taken by fewer than 20 students in a calendar year and 32% reporting that it is taken by 100 or more students.

New Technology

Only 13% of the respondents said they offer a course devoted primarily to the new technology of journalism as advocated in Proposition 16. And the titles or descriptions of only two of these courses made it clear that such is the case.

Quite a few of the respondents who said they do not offer such a course reported that they incorporate information concerning the new technology into courses in management or editing.

As shown in Table 7, the modal characteristics of the eight courses reported as being primarily concerned with the new technology are as follows:

Open to both graduates and undergraduates or only to undergraduates, the course is an elective or is required of only certain kinds of students. Added to the curriculum in the 1970's, the new technology course is offered each calendar year and draws from 20 to 100 or more students.

Enlightening Comments

Respondents were invited to describe their offerings in the six specified areas, and quite a few of them did. Below are quotations which give some of the flavor of "editorial comments" that went beyond course description.

In response to the question about a course devoted primarily to the anatomy of the urban community, one respondent said his school does not offer one and wrote:

"More appropriately the function of other departments."

In answering the same question, another respondent said his school offers a course in "Community Structure and Development" but that "It's a PR course. Few journalism majors take it."

In reporting that his school does not offer a course in research methods for the working journalist, one respondent wrote:

"This information, as it pertains in specific situations, is offered in a number of courses including reporting, editorial writing, feature writing, magazine article writing, and others." (Another respondent listed nine courses into which such information is incorporated.)

In reporting that his school does not offer a course devoted primarily to non-verbal communication, one respondent wrote:

"Are you kidding?"

Another respondent reported that his school does not offer a course devoted primarily to media economics and management and that such study is "not considered essential to undergraduate preparation."

And, finally, in answering the question concerning a course on the new technology of mass communication, one person wrote:

"I don't know what you mean."

SUMMARY

Three of the advocated kinds of courses were reported as being offered in about two-thirds of the accredited and large unaccredited journalism programs. These courses are: research methods for working journalists, media economics and management, and major issues in contemporary society.

A course in non-verbal communication was reported as being offered at about one-third of the schools. Courses in the new technology of mass communication and the anatomy of the urban community were found to be offered in fewer than one-fifth of the schools. These few schools may, however, be setting a new trend: most of the courses in these three areas have been added to the curricula in the 1970's.

None of the six advocated types of courses is at this time required of all journalism students in a majority of the schools offering it. The only one that comes close to being so is the course in non-verbal communication. It is required of all majors at 10 of the 22 schools where it is reported as being offered.

Most of the courses tend to be open to both graduate and undergraduate students. The one exception is the research methods course, which is open to only graduate students at a majority of the schools.

Four of the six kinds of courses tend to be offered during two or more academic terms each year. The exceptions are media economics and the new technology of mass communication. The modal frequency for each of those two types is once each calendar year.

The cumulative number of students in a calendar year is fewer than 100 for a majority of the schools offering any one of the courses except for non-verbal communication, which is taken by 100 or more students at 11 of the 22 schools offering it. The courses in research methods and media economics tend especially to include small numbers of students, with the total year's enrollment seldom reaching 50.

The authors noticed, almost as soon as the returns started coming in, a phenomenon that has been observed in public opinion polling: by asking a question, you may be creating an opinion. When journalism administrators were asked whether their schools or departments offer certain courses, it appears that they sometimes felt they should say "yes" even when the course titles or descriptions which they provided did not particularly support the statement.* Only in the rarest of cases did a respondent write "are you kidding?" or "not considered essential."

Another observation of some interest is the fact that in every instance where a course was reported as being offered, the respondent said his school or department plans to continue it. Not once was it said that the course is to be dropped. Two possible reasons for this 100% response may be suggested. First, it may be that once a course has made its difficult way through curriculum committees and budget offices, the thought of dropping it is too painful to endure. Or it may be that the six kinds of courses dealt with here have proved in every case to be of sufficient value to warrant continued effort. Which of these explanations, if either, is correct, the authors leave to the judgement of the conference participants.

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* The authors had expected that such yea-saying might be encouraged by the questionnaire. Consequently, they started it with a set of questions as to whether a course devoted primarily to editing was offered. They knew that it was offered in almost all cases (97% said "yes"), but they hoped that giving the respondent a chance to demonstrate early that his school or department is "with it" would reduce the need subsequently to say "yes." If asking this first set of questions did reduce yea-saying, the evidence suggests that the phenomenon may be especially troublesome in a study such as this one.

TABLE 1 - Number and Percentage of Accredited and Large Unaccredited Journalism Programs Offering Certain Courses (N=61)

Have at least one course devoted primarily to:	No.	%
Non-verbal communication	22	36
Research methods for working journalists	37	61
Media economics and management	38	62
Anatomy of the urban community	10	16
Major issues in contemporary society	41	67
New technology	8	13

TABLE 2 - Characteristics of Courses in Non-Verbal Communication (N=22)

	No.	%
Title or description clearly identifies course as emphasizing non-verbal communication	8	36
For journalism majors, course is		
Elective	9	40
Required	10	46
Other	3	14
Course is open to:		
Undergraduates only	9	41
Graduate students only	1	5
Both	12	55
Course was first offered in:		
1970 or later	9	41
1960-69	5	23
1950-59	3	14
1949 or earlier	4	18
Not ascertained	1	5
Approximate number of students who take course in full calendar year:		
19 or fewer	3	14
20-49	3	14
50-99	5	23
100 or more	11	50
Number of academic terms in which course is offered in typical calendar year:		
0	1	5
1	6	27
2	6	27
3	8	36
4	1	5

TABLE 3 - Characteristics of Courses in Research Methods for Working Journalists (N=37)

	No.	%
Title or description clearly identifies course as emphasizing research methods for working journalists	16	43
For journalism majors, course is:		
Elective	19	51
Required	12	32
Other	6	16
Course is open to:		
Undergraduates only	3	8
Graduate students only	20	54
Both	14	38
Course was first offered in:		
1970 or later	12	32
1960-69	13	35
1950-59	7	19
1949 or earlier	2	5
Not ascertained	3	8
Approximate number of students who take course in full calendar year:		
19 or fewer	11	30
20-49	19	51
50-99	6	16
100 or more	0	0
Not ascertained	1	3
Number of academic terms in which course is offered in typical calendar year:		
0	1	5
1	6	27
2	6	27
3	8	36
4	1	5

TABLE 4 - Characteristics of Courses in Media Economics and Management (N=38)

	No.	%
Title or description clearly identifies course as emphasizing media economics and management	36	95
For journalism majors, course is:		
Elective	32	84
Required	1	3
Other	5	13
Course is open to:		
Undergraduates only	7	18
Graduate students only	5	13
Both	26	68
Course was first offered in:		
1970 or later	6	16
1960-69	15	40
1950-59	8	21
1949 or earlier	6	16
Not ascertained	3	8
Approximate number of students who take course in full calendar year:		
19 or fewer	15	40
20-49	17	45
50-99	3	8
100 or more	2	5
Not ascertained	1	3
Number of academic terms in which course is offered in typical calendar year:		
0	5	13
1	25	66
2	8	21

TABLE 5 - Characteristics of Courses in the Anatomy of the Urban Community (N=10)

	No.	%
Title or description clearly identifies course as emphasizing study of the urban community	7	70
For journalism majors, course is:		
Elective	7	70
Required	1	10
Other	2	20
Course is open to:		
Undergraduates only	3	30
Graduate students only	1	10
Both	6	60
Course was first offered in:		
1970 or later	6	60
1960-69	3	30
1950-59	0	0
1949 or earlier	1	10
Approximate number of students who take course in full calendar year:		
19 or fewer	4	40
20-49	3	30
50-99	2	20
100 or more	1	10
Number of academic terms in which course is offered in typical calendar year:		
1	6	60
2	3	30
4	1	10

TABLE 6 - Characteristics of Courses in Major Issues in Contemporary Society (N=41)

	No.	%
Title or description clearly identifies course as emphasizing major issues in contemporary society	20	49
For journalism majors, course is:		
Elective	24	59
Required	13	32
Other	4	10
Course is open to:		
Undergraduates only	11	27
Graduate students only	6	15
Both	24	59
Course was first offered in:		
1970 or later	8	20
1960-69	17	42
1950-59	8	20
1949 or earlier	5	12
Not ascertained	3	7
Approximate number of students who take course in full calendar year:		
19 or fewer	6	15
20-49	10	24
50-99	11	27
100 or more	13	32
Not ascertained	1	2
Number of academic terms in which course is offered in typical calendar year:		
0	1	2
1	14	34
2	14	34
3	10	24
4	2	5

TABLE 7 - Characteristics of Course in the New Technology of Mass Communication (N=8)

	No.	%
Title or description clearly identifies course as emphasizing the new technology	2	25
For journalism majors, course is:		
Elective	4	50
Required	1	13
Other	3	38
Course is open to:		
Undergraduates only	3	38
Graduate students only	1	13
Both	3	38
Not ascertained	1	13
Course was first offered in:		
1970 or later	7	88
1960-69	1	13
Approximate number of students who take course in full calendar year:		
19 or fewer	0	0
20-49	3	38
50-99	1	13
100 or more	2	25
Not ascertained	2	25
Number of academic terms in which course is offered in typical calendar year:		
0	1	13
1	4	50
2	1	13
4	1	13
Not ascertained	1	13

THE JOURNALISTIC AND ACADEMIC BACKGROUNDS OF TEACHERS OF SKILLS COURSES IN ACCREDITED SCHOOLS AND DEPARTMENTS OF JOURNALISM

This survey was conducted for the Conference on "Education for Newspaper Journalists in the Seventies and Beyond," sponsored by the American Newspaper Publishers Association Foundation in cooperation with the Association for Education in Journalism, to be held at Reston, Virginia, October 31 - November 2, 1973.

By Galen R. Rarick
and
Erik L. Collins

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For 43% of those whose longest-held position was in the news-editorial department of a newspaper, that job was with a daily of 100,000 circulation or more. Some 28% worked for a newspaper of 20,000 to 99,000 circulation, and 29% were employed on a paper of under 20,000 circulation. (Approximately half of those who were with papers of under 20,000 circulation were editors--and frequently publishers--of weekly newspapers.)

The teachers of skills courses were highly likely (94%) to have gained journalistic experience of some sort while they were still college students. About 75% reported working on campus publications, and 42% worked for off-campus newspapers, magazines, or wire services. (Naturally, many of the respondents had more than one kind of journalistic experience while still in college.) Still others gained experience in broadcasting, public relations, and advertising.

Professional academic experience

Table 2 shows that 68% of the teachers of skills courses have more than two years of teaching experience, while 65% are senior faculty members with rank of professor or associate professor.

Teaching is clearly the primary duty of most of these faculty members. Approximately 51% devote more than half their working hours to teaching, and another 32% give more than one-fourth of their time to teaching.

Administrative duties take more than one-fourth of the working time of 26% of the teachers of skills courses.

These faculty members, however, do not devote a large share of their time to research and writing, the advising of students, or consulting.

Although a few of the teachers of skills courses never left the full-time practice of journalism to enter teaching (they teach part-time or they never had such full-time employment), most of them did, and 130 gave their reasons for doing so.

The reasons--paraphrased for categorization--that were most often given (28%) were "opportunity to pursue academic interests" and "disenchantment or boredom" with the previous job. Some 22% of the teachers said they made the switch because they thought that by doing so they could improve the practice of journalism by helping to train and educate more good young journalists.

A question as to whether they intend to leave teaching and resume their professional journalistic careers was answered by 141 of the respondents. Only 6% said they intend to leave teaching, but an additional 26% said they are undecided.

Educational background

Most of the teachers of skills courses have earned at least one graduate degree and are likely to have majored in journalism or mass communication at both the undergraduate and graduate levels. About 75% of them had such an undergraduate major, with another 10% majoring in one of the humanities, as shown in Table 3.

Some 58% of the teachers have earned doctorates, while another 35% have masters degrees. Many of those in the latter group are now candidates for doctorates. Even though only 6% are under 30 years of age (Table 4), Most of the people who teach journalistic skills courses in accredited journalism programs have two or more years of full-time professional journalistic experience, have more than two years of teaching experience, and hold at least one graduate degree.

These are some of the findings of a survey conducted during the spring and summer of 1973 to determine the media and academic backgrounds of the people who are currently teaching such skills as writing, editing, photography and layout.

An analysis of the entire membership list of the Association for Education in Journalism as of May, 1973, (not just those members who were listed in the January, 1973, issue of Journalism Educator) revealed that 284 people were listed as teaching skills courses in the 61 accredited programs.

Two-thirds (189) of these faculty members were randomly selected for the study.[1] A questionnaire was developed, and two mailings--plus a few follow-up telephone calls--produced responses from 162. Four respondents were no longer teaching skills courses, so they were dropped from the study. Consequently, the universe as operationally defined numbered 280, the mail sample numbered 185, and usable responses were received from 158. Thus, the response rate was 85.4% of the mail sample.[2]

Professional journalistic experience

As shown in Table I, teachers of skills courses tend to have considerable professional journalistic experience, especially with newspapers. Approximately 47% of them have 10 or more years of full-time experience, and only 10% have less than two years.

Most of this experience was gained in regular, ongoing employment rather than by an accumulation of short summer stints. Some 80% of these teachers have held at least one full-time journalistic position for more than two years.

The position that was held the longest was most likely (61%) to have been in the news-editorial department of a newspaper or a wire service. For an additional 9% of the teachers, the longest-held journalistic position was in some other department of a newspaper.

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[1] The decision to use a proportionately large sample rather than the universe was made to enable the researchers to "eat their cake and have it, too." By using a sample, they could have better control of the study, thus producing a better response rate and better quality data. At the same time, since the universe was comparatively small, the high response rate insured that the usable sample constituted a large segment of the universe, resulting in rather little sampling error.

[2] The standard error for a proportion of .5 in this study is .017. This means, for example, that if 50% of the respondents had a particular attribute, the chances are 95 out of 100 that between 46.6% and 53.4% of the universe had that attribute. For more extreme percentages--in either direction--the 95 per cent confidence interval is even smaller.

27% have earned their highest degree in the 1970's. This finding reflects a general pattern of entering the full-time practice of journalism after completion of the baccalaureate degree, then several years later returning to graduate school.

Among those teachers whose highest degree is the masters, 82% majored in journalism or mass communication while obtaining that degree, and 13% majored in one of the humanities. Among those whose highest degree is the doctorate, 74% majored in journalism or mass communication, 12% majored in education, and 10% majored in one of the humanities.

Almost 40% of the earned doctorates were awarded by three universities--Wisconsin (17%), Minnesota (13%), and Illinois (9%). Each of four other universities provided the doctoral education of about 7% of the teachers. They are Iowa, Missouri, Southern Illinois, and Stanford. In other words, these seven institutions awarded about two-thirds of the doctorates held by teachers of skills courses in accredited journalism programs.

Demographics

Table 4 shows quite clearly that the teaching of skills courses is overwhelmingly the province of white middle-aged males.

Professional Activities

About two-thirds of the teachers have published at least one item in the 1970's, as shown in Table 5. On the other hand, about one-fifth of the teachers report no publications at all. For about one-fifth of the faculty members, the most recent publication is a book. For another fifth it is an academic journal article, and for still another fifth it is a trade journal article.

Membership in Sigma Delta Chi is reported by 77% of the teachers of skills courses, and 21% are members of Kappa Tau Alpha. About 46% belong to one or more professional journalistic societies such as the National Conference of Editorial Writers, the National Association of Science Writers, and the National Press Photographers Association. Membership in one or more professional academic societies, such as the American Association for the Advancement of Science, the Modern Languages Association, and the American Sociological Association, is reported by 32%.

Because of the method of sample selection, all the teachers included in this survey are members of the Association for Education in Journalism. That fact leads to a word of caution concerning generalizations from the data of this study. Although the findings are readily generalizable to all skills teachers in accredited programs who are members of AEJ, they are not necessarily generalizable to those skills teachers who are not AEJ members.

Something can be said, however, about those people who are not AEJ members. One sizable group of them comprises part-time teachers who are full-time journalists "downtown." These people, of course, are long on media experience, but they probably are less likely to have advanced degrees than are the AEJ members.

Another group of skills teachers who are not especially likely to be AEJ members are those who are graduate students rather than regular faculty members. These people tend to be somewhat younger than regular faculty members and, obviously, none of them has completed a doctorate, although a considerable portion of them have masters degrees. The authors' personal observation is that a graduate student is seldom the instructor of record (as distinguished from being an assistant to a regular faculty member) for a skills course unless he already has at least a year or two of professional journalistic practice. The validity of that observation, however, cannot be tested by the data of this study.

There are, of course, regular faculty members who are not members of AEJ, but their numbers are not large.

In all, it is safe to say that a majority of the skills courses taught in accredited journalism programs are taught by AEJ members who were included in the universe sampled for this study.

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TABLE I - PROFESSIONAL JOURNALISTIC EXPERIENCE OF TEACHERS OF SKILLS COURSES IN ACCREDITED JOURNALISM PROGRAMS (n=158)

	Number	Per Cent
Years of Full-time Professional Journalistic Experience:		
10 or more	74	46.8
2-9	68	43.1
Less than 2	14	8.9
None	2	1.3
Years of Service in the One Full-time Journalistic Position Held Longest:		
10 or more	29	18.4
2-9	98	62.0
Less than 2	26	16.5
None or not ascertained	5	3.1
Type of Service in the One Full-time Journalistic Position Held Longest:		
Newspaper (news-editorial) or wire service	97	61.4
Newspaper (non news-editorial)	14	8.9
Broadcast news	9	5.7
Public relations/advertising	24	15.2
All other	9	5.7
None or not ascertained	5	3.1
Types of Journalistic Experience Gained While in College (more than one answer permitted:		
Campus publication	119	75.3
Off-campus newspaper, magazine, or wire service	67	42.4
Campus broadcasting	12	7.6
Off-campus broadcasting	7	4.4
Campus public relations	12	7.6
Off-campus public relations/advertising	6	3.8
All other	7	4.4
None or not ascertained	10	6.3

TABLE 2 - PROFESSIONAL ACADEMIC EXPERIENCE OF TEACHERS IN SKILLS COURSES IN ACCREDITED JOURNALISM PROGRAMS

	Number	Per Cent
Years of teaching:	(n=158)	
10 or more	25	15.8
3-9	83	52.5
1-2	50	31.6
Current academic rank:	(n=158)	
Professor	60	38.0
Associate professor	43	27.2
Assistant professor	37	23.4
Instructor	16	10.1
Other	2	1.3
Proportion of time given to:	(n=158)	
Teaching--		
25% or less	26	16.5
26-50%	51	32.3
51-75%	62	39.2
76% or more	19	12.0
Advising students--		
25% or less	143	90.5
26-50%	15	9.5
Research and writing--		
25% or less	142	89.9
26-50%	13	8.2
51-75%	2	1.3
76% or more	1	0.6
Administration--		
25% or less	117	74.0
26-50%	27	17.1
51-75%	4	2.5
75% or more	10	6.3
Consulting--		
25% or less	156	98.7
26-50%	2	1.3

(continued)

Table 2 - Continued

Reasons for Leaving Professional Practice of Journalism for Teaching (more than one reason permitted):

	Number (n=130)	Per Cent
Opportunity to pursue academic interests	36	27.7
Disenchantment or boredom	36	27.7
To help improve journalism	28	21.5
Better pay/working conditions	16	12.3
Greater security/stability	7	5.4
Personal reasons (unspecified)	10	7.7

Intend to Leave Teaching and Resume Professional Journalism Career:

	(n=141)	
No	97	68.8
Yes	8	5.7
Undecided	36	25.5

TABLE 3 - EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND OF TEACHERS OF SKILLS COURSES IN ACCREDITED JOURNALISM PROGRAMS

	Number	Per Cent
Highest degree earned:	(n=158)	
Doctorate	91	57.6
Masters	56	35.4
Bachelors	9	5.7
Other	2	1.3
When highest degree was earned:	(n=158)	
1970 or later	43	27.2
1960-1969	68	43.0
1950-1959	24	15.2
1949 or earlier	23	14.6
Undergraduate major:	(n=158)	
Journalism or mass communication	118	74.7
Humanities (language, history, etc.)	16	10.1
Education	9	5.7
Social sciences (economics, psychology, political science, etc.)	4	2.5
All others	11	7.0
Major for highest degree earned - masters:	(n=56)	
Journalism or mass communication	46	82.1
Humanities	7	12.5
Social sciences	3	5.4
Major for highest degree earned - doctorate:	(n=91)	
Journalism or mass communication	67	73.6
Education	11	12.1
Humanities	9	9.9
Social sciences	1	1.1
All others	3	3.3

TABLE 4 - DEMOGRAPHICS OF TEACHERS OF SKILLS COURSES IN ACCREDITED JOURNALISM PROGRAMS (n=158)

	Number	Per Cent
Age:		
29 or younger	10	6.3
30-49	91	57.6
50-64	50	31.6
65 or older	5	3.2
Not ascertained	2	1.3
Sex:		
Male	151	95.6
Female	7	4.4
Race:		
White	155	98.1
Not ascertained	3	1.9

TABLE 5 - PROFESSIONAL ACADEMIC AND JOURNALISTIC ACTIVITIES OF TEACHERS OF SKILLS COURSES IN ACCREDITED JOURNALISM PROGRAMS (n=158)

	Number	Per Cent
Type of most recent publication:		
Trade journal	35	22.2
Academic journal	34	21.5
Book	33	20.9
Popular media	16	10.1
Other	7	4.4
None	33	20.9
Year of most recent publication:		
1970 or later	103	65.2
1960-1969	20	12.9
1959 or earlier	2	1.3
None	33	20.9
Memberships in Professional Organizations Other Than Association for Education in Journalism:		
Sigma Delta Chi	122	77.2
Kappa Tau Alpha	33	20.9
American Association of University Professors	25	15.8
Women in Communications	5	3.2
Professional journalistic societies (National Conference of Editorial Writers, National Association of Science Writers, etc.)	73	46.2
Professional academic societies (American Association for the Advancement of Science, American Psychological Association, etc.)	50	31.6
Press clubs	30	19.0
None	3	1.9

6

PROGRAM

"EDUCATION FOR NEWSPAPER JOURNALISTS IN THE SEVENTIES AND BEYOND"

The Sheraton Inn, Reston, Virginia
October 31, November 1 and 2, 1973

Wednesday, October 31

9:00 a.m. Welcome by officials ANPA Foundation and the Association for Education in Journalism: Main Ballroom

Opening Remarks: Kenneth MacDonald, Vice President, Des Moines (Ia.) Register and Tribune

9:30 a.m. The Skills and Practice of Newspaper Journalism in the Liberal Arts Curriculum

Journalism and a Liberal Education by Paul L. Dressel, Director of Institutional Research, Michigan State University

10:30 a.m. Non-verbal Communication by Gene S. Graham, Professor, College of Communication, University of Illinois

Professionalism of the Press by William E. Porter, Chairman, Department of Journalism, University of Michigan

12:15 p.m. Luncheon - Sheraton Inn, Rooms 9-10

1:30 p.m. What is the Body of Knowledge of Journalism?

The Journalist's Body of Knowledge by Howard M. Ziff, Director of Journalistic Studies, University of Massachusetts

Attitude Formation by John P. Robinson, Study Director, Survey Research Center, Institute for Social Research, The University of Michigan

Economics of the Press by John H. Colburn, Vice President, Landmark Communications, Inc., Norfolk, Virginia

New Technology by John E. Leard, Executive Editor, Richmond (Va.) Newspapers

6:30 p.m. Cocktails - ANPA Building

8:00 p.m. Dinner - Sheraton Inn, Rooms 9-10

Thursday, November 1

9:00 a.m.	Research for the Newspaper Journalist
	Social Science Reporting by Philip E. Meyer, National Correspondent, Washington Bureau, Knight Newspapers, Inc.
	Professional Media Experience by Richard G. Gray, Chairman, Department of Journalism, Indiana University
	Professional Activity Beyond the Classroom by Maxwell E. McCombs. School of Public Communication, Syracuse University
12:15 p.m.	Luncheon - Sheraton Inn, Rooms 9-10
1:30 p.m.	The Non-Journalism Curriculum
	Mastery of a Non-Journalism Discipline by Keith Spalding President, Franklin and Marshall College
	Study of Urban Life by Jack Lyle, Director of Communication Research, Corporation for Public Broadcasting
	Broad Understanding of the Major Issues by Edward W. Barrett, Director, Communications Institute, Academy for Educational Development, New York, New York
Evening	Open

Friday, November 2

9:00 a.m.	Purposes and Role of Journalism Schools
	Objectives of Journalism Schools by Charles T. Duncan, School of Journalism, University of Oregon
	Criticism of the Press by James W. Carey, Director, Institute of Communications Research, University of Illinois
	Evaluation of Journalism Schools by Sylvan H. Meyer, Editor, Miami (Fla.) News
12:15 p.m.	Luncheon - Sheraton Inn, Rooms 9-10
1:30 p.m.	The Challenges We Face - General Discussion
3:30 p.m.	Adjournment

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Participants

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Dean, School of Journalism
University of North Carolina

Warren K. Agee
Dean, School of Journalism
University of Georgia

Charles T. Alexander, Jr.
Publisher
Dayton (Ohio) Journal Herald

Jeremiah M. Allen
Dean, Humanities & Fine Arts
University of Massachusetts

Arthur M. Barnes
Director, School of Journalism
Penn State University

Edward W. Barrett
Director, Communications Institute
Academy for Educational Development

Edward P. Bassett
Dean, W.A. White School of Journalism
University of Kansas

Judith W. Brown
Editor
New Britain (Conn.) Herald

James W. Carey
Director, Institute of Communications Research
University of Illinois

Bob J. Carrell
Director, H.H. Herbert School of Journalism
University of Oklahoma

Don Carter
Executive Editor
Macon (Ga.) Telegraph and News

John Colburn
Vice President
Landmark Communications

I.W. Cole
Dean, Medill School of Journalism
Northwestern University

Neale Copple
Director, School of Journalism
University of Nebraska

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Dean, School of Communication
University of Texas at Austin

Michael J. Davies
Managing Editor
The Louisville (Ky.) Times

B. Dale Davis
Managing Editor
Philadelphia (Pa.) Bulletin

Kenneth S. Devol
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California State University, Northridge

Donald W. Diehl
President
Easton (Pa.) Express

Eugene C. Dorsey
Publisher
Rochester (N.Y.) Times Union

John L. Dougherty
Managing Editor
Rochester (N.Y.) Times Union

Paul L. Dressel
Director of Institutional Research
Michigan State University

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Copley Newspapers

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Dow Jones Newspaper Fund

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Gene S. Graham
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Dallas (Texas) News

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Managing Editor
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Ohio State University

Robert E. Hartley
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William L. Hays
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Sigma Delta Chi

Dale M. Johns
Director of Personnel
United Press International

Thomas F. Jones
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Stephen C. Kleene
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Jack Lyle
Director of Communication Research
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Miami (Fla.) News

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Keith Spalding
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Davis Taylor
Chairman, ANPA
Publisher, Boston (Mass.) Globe

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Earl L. Wallis
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University of Massachusetts

Casey Banas
Sunday City Editor
Chicago (Ill.) Tribune

Lionel C. Barrow, Jr.
Dept. of Mass Communication
University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee

Appendix A

Opening Remarks before the Conference on "Education for Newspaper Journalists in the Seventies and Beyond," by Kenneth MacDonald, Vice President and Editor, Des Moines (Iowa) Register and Tribune, Reston, Virginia, October 31, 1973

My role here this morning is to explain as briefly as possible why this meeting is being held.

Any editor or publisher or educator who thinks seriously about the problems of journalism education must recognize a paradox. At a time when the world needs better communications, more perceptive newspapers and better educated journalists, there is remarkably little discourse between the newsroom and the campus. There is pleasant fraternizing and amiable speech-making but lamentably little probing discussion.

I think there can be little question about the dependence of newspapers on the academic world. Electronic techniques are freeing newspapers from the inefficiency of hot lead and opening new vistas in newspaper production, but this freedom will have little significance without similar progress in editorial content.

As readers become better educated, as our world grows increasingly complex, as our problems become more and more insoluble, the newspaper must provide better definitions of news, sharper analysis of current events, deeper insight into community problems. This means that newspapers today, as never before, need the brightest trained minds which journalism education can provide, the intellectual resources of the journalism campus and the innovative ideas of journalism research and criticism.

Whether they articulate it or not, newspapers sense their dependency. Although most of us do not insist that our staff members hold journalism degrees, the fact is that we do hire mostly journalism graduates. The day of the condescending attitude is over. Therefore, the stake which newspapers have in journalism education is obvious.

A corollary to this is that those students who do not seek journalism education are not likely to find their way into our newsrooms. And if the journalism school is the gate to a newspaper career, we should all be vitally interested in whether or not the brightest minds in a college are led through that gate.

There is evidence that despite our reliance on journalism education too many of us in what Bill Porter calls the "real world" are not well informed about journalism education.

One point that emerged from John Hulteng's survey* published by ANPA Foundation last year is that editors and educators have different impressions about what goes on in journalism schools. From the responses to several of Hulteng's questions, it was apparent that editors are not well informed on such basic facts as the amount of the student's time devoted to the journalism curriculum.

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*John Hulteng, "What Editors and Journalism Educators Expect from Journalism Education" in News Research for Better Newspapers, vol. 6, ed. Galen Rarick (Reston: ANPA Foundation, 1973), pp. 123-148.

I don't know of any research on the other side disclosing what journalism faculties think about what goes on inside newspaper offices. However, from my own limited, non-scientific observations, I would guess the view may be just as cloudy from that side. There is something of a gulf between us. I don't suggest there is anything sinister about this gulf; I suggest only that it is there, and that this conference is in part an attempt to build bridges across it.

There is no agreement among newspaper people as to what journalism education should be. We don't even agree on what journalism is. Some of us think it is a profession, not only a profession but one of the elite professions, truly the Fourth Estate. Others among us agree with Joe Alsop, who wrote in his book, The Reporter's Trade, that "it is necessary to emphasize...that newspaper reporting is not a profession, despite the complacent contrary belief of a good many reporters who have achieved the upper-brackets...Newspaper reporting is a...trade, like undertaking, which it sometimes resembles."

I gather there is not complete agreement, either, among educators as to what journalism education is. Certainly the diverse orientation of various schools would indicate this.

I hasten to say that lack of agreement, in itself, is not necessarily regrettable. I think a certain amount of chaos in the newspaper world is desirable. Or if not actually desirable, certainly it is less undesirable than any kind of imposed order would be.

This is a good place to say, also, that it is entirely natural and proper that the practitioners of journalism, on the one hand, and the educators on the other, have a somewhat different approach to the art or craft or business of communicating through the printed word. We play different but complementary roles toward the common objective of an informed citizenry.

There are a few basic points, however, on which I assume we do all agree. I assume we agree that a journalist ought to be educated in some manner. And if we agree on that, perhaps we could agree that some types of education should be more useful for a journalist than others. Presumably education for journalism should be somewhat different from education for medicine, for example, or for engineering or undertaking.

So it will be productive during the next few days to talk about some of the ingredients which should be part of a working journalist's educational background.

The working papers which will be discussed here, and which I trust you have all read, by deliberate intent do not set forth all sides of a proposition. Each writer was asked specifically to argue a point of view, not to discuss pros and cons. The purpose of this conference is to provoke thought, not to find a consensus, not to draft resolutions.

One final explanatory note: the reason for limiting this discussion to newspaper journalism was not provincialism or competitive sensitivity toward the other media. We did so because many of us involved in newspapers think the printed word is still vital in keeping a democratic citizenry aware of the changing world. I don't know how much difference there is--or whether there should be any difference at all--in education for the different media. But I do think it is enormously important that we learn how to make the most effective use possible of the printed word and the graphic arts that illuminate it.

I hope this conference will demonstrate, by its sponsorship, that newspapers have a constructive and healthy interest in journalism education and a commitment to support the efforts of educators.